ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

REPORT

OF

A TOUR IN THE GORAKHPUR DISTRICT

BY

A. C. L. CARLLEYLE

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VOLUME XVIII

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CUNNINGHAM REPORT

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Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT

OF

A TOUR IN THE GORAKHPUR DISTRICT

IN

1875-76 AND 1876-77.

85064

BY

A. C. L. CARLLEYLE,

FIRST ASSISTANT,

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them." — Lord Canning.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally." — James Prinsep.

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
NEW DELHI
2000

First Edition 1883
Reprint 2000

85064 9/1/2001
Accession No. 85064
Call No. R 913.011 IDA/Cun

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2000
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Price Rs. 160/-

PRINTED AT VEERENDRA PRINTERS, NEW DELHI

PREFACE.

IN his last report Mr. Carlleyle described his discovery of Kapilavastu, the birthplace of the Buddha Sakyamuni, and of the many interesting sites in its neighbourhood; all of which are intimately connected with the early history of the great teacher. In the present report he describes his further progress in the identification of other interesting sites, such as Râmagrâma and the Anomâ river. The latter is still known as the *Kûdawâ*, or "Leap river;" and I have little doubt that it represents the Anomâ river, over which Sakya Sinha took his great leap on his famous horse Chandika.

To the eastward of this river Mr. Carlleyle has identified certain brick mounds as the stûpas of "Chandika's return," of the "Cut hair" and of the "Changed garments." These identifications seem to me to be almost certain.

Still further to the east lay the city of the Moriyas and the Nyagrodha forest, and the stûpa that was built over the ashes from Buddha's funeral pyre. The forest still exists around Râjdhâni, and Mr. Carlleyle has identified one of the brick mounds with the famous "Ashes Stûpa."

But Mr. Carlleyle's great work of the season was the complete explotation of the ruins at Kasia, which I had already identified with the ancient city of Kusinagara, where Buddha died. As the scene of the teacher's death, Kusinagara, was one of the four great sites that were famous in the history of Buddhism. These were—1, Kapilavastu, the scene of his birth; 2, Uruvilwa (or Buddha Gaya), the scene of his asceticism; 3, the Deer Park at Benares, the scene

of his teaching; and 4, the city of Kusinagara, where he died, and obtained Nirvâna, or final emancipation.

By his patient and methodical explorations at Kasia, Mr. Carlleyle has fixed its identification beyond all doubt. On the west side of the great Stûpa he discovered the famous Nirvâna statue of Buddha, just as it was described by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. It is quite certain that this statue is the same that was seen by the pilgrim, as there is an inscription on the pedestal of the mourning figure, beside the couch, of two lines in characters of the Gupta period. The figure is colossal, 20 feet in length, and is represented lying on the right side with the right hand under the head, and facing to the west precisely as described by Hwen Thsang. The statue was enshrined in a vaulted temple, the vault being constructed in the old Hindu fashion, such as is found in the great temple of Mahâbodhi at Buddha Gaya. In this construction the radiating voussoirs are placed edge to edge, instead of face to face.

Altogether the identifications made in this report mutually support each other, and their positions are well sustained by the two fixed points of Kapilavastu on the west and Kusinagara on the east.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

REPORT OF A TOUR IN THE GORAKHPUR DISTRICT IN 1875-76 AND 1876-77.

1.—KHIRNIPUR.

AFTER having completed my explorations, surveys, and excavations at *Bhuila* or *Kapilavastu*, and having also surveyed *Burhapâr* and *Bua dih,* which I identified as the sites connected with the birth of *Buddha* in the *Lumbini Garden*, and having also explored the ancient course of the *Rohwai,* or *Rohwaini,* or *Rohini river*, and identified the river of oil of the *Buddhist* traditions, and having also fully and conclusively identified the *Barâh Chhetr*, or *Varâha Kshetra,* on the *Kuâno river* as the *Vyâghrapuri* of the Purânas, and the *Vyâgrhapura* or *Koli* of the Buddhist chronicles, I then crossed the Kuâno river at the Sidhaoni Ghât, and encamped about 2½ miles to the south-east, near a small village called *Khirnipur*, and about 1 mile to the south-east of the ruins of an ancient brick stûpa which stands on the east bank of the Kuâno river, a little to the south-south-east of *Sidhaoni ghât*.

This ruined stûpa had engaged my attention, because I believed it to mark the very spot where *Buddha,* as Prince *Siddhârtha*, must have crossed the first river he met in his course, after he left his native place, in order to enter upon the life of an ascetic.[1] This ruined stûpa is situated

[1] See Plate I for map of the country to the east of Kapilavastu.

nearly 3 miles to the south-south-east from the *Barâh Chhetr.* It has now got a stone *lingam* on the top of it; but it is most decidedly and clearly a stûpa, as the bricks of its construction are in circular courses, and I found several wedge-shaped bricks, convexly curved, at the larger end. This stûpa appears to have been about 60 or 70 feet in diameter; but its height, in its ruinous condition, when I saw it, was not much above 12 feet.

About a quarter of a mile to the north of *Sidhaoni ghât* on the left or east bank of the *Kuâno river,* there is an ancient site called *Chimrâwa dih,* where I think an ancient city must once have been situated. This site occupies a series of heights, rising between densely-wooded ravines, on the east bank of the river. These heights are covered with fragments of brick and pottery. If *Chimrâwa dih* be, as I have reason to believe, the site of an ancient city, then the *Sidhaoni ghât,* which is one of the most ancient ghâts on the Kuâno river, was probably originally the special ghât in particular which led to this ancient city, and the ruined stûpa close to the south-south-east of the ghât was probably connected with it, as well as with some religious establishment, of which the many bricks scattered over the ground in the neighbourhood of the stûpa may now be the only traces.

At *Bhainsâ Pokharâ,* about 1½ mile to the east-south-east from my camp at *Khirnipur* (before mentioned), I found a large ancient tank, and at the north-west corner of the tank I saw the ruins of a brick stûpa. There is now a *lingam* on the top of it. As this stûpa lay in a direct south-eastern line from the other stûpa near *Sidhaoni ghât,* before mentioned, and as I found apparent traces of the former existence of other stûpas at other places still further on beyond, in the same south-easterly direction, I think it is very probable that the whole course of Prince Siddhârtha's journey from *Kapilavastu* to the *Anoma* river was once marked out by a line or series of stûpas.

About a quarter of a mile to the west of *Bhainsâ Pokharâ,* I met with an odd curiosity, namely, a small brick

temple, which had become entirely enclosed within the roots of a huge double *pipal* tree. There was still a hole left between the roots on one side, where the doorway had been, and through which a person might creep, with great difficulty, on his hands and knees. The chamber appears to have remained pretty entire inside, and a portion of the face of one of the walls was still visible exteriorly, between the double trunk of the great tree; but, otherwise, the whole building was entirely covered and hidden by the wood of the tree.

There is a mound of ruins called *Baheriya dih*, about 2 miles to the east from Sidhaoni ghât.

About 4 miles to the north-east from Sidhaoni Ghât, and about 100 feet to the east of a village called *Barâwa*, there are the ruins of a temple, and near it there is a large stone statue, which was dug out of it. This statue has two arms, each of which holds up a *Chakra*, or discus. It measured 3 feet in height, by 1 foot 7 inches in breadth across the shoulders.

At *Hatha*, about 8½ miles east-north-east from *Sidhaoni ghât*, there is said to be a large mound of ruins. And, again, at a place called *Lachhmanpur*, about 3 miles to the north-east from *Sidhaoni ghât*, there is a mound of ruins.

Lastly, there is a large ruined site called *Kaili dih*, about 5 miles to the north-east from *Sidhaoni ghât*.

2.—RÂMPUR DEORIYÂ, OR RÂMÂGRÂMA.

From *Khirnipur* I proceeded straight on to *Mundera Parao*, on the road which runs from Basti to Gorakhpur, a short distance to the west of the Katnaya river.

While resting at *Mundera*, I had the good fortune to discover the true *Râmâgrâma*, with its stûpa still standing though in a ruinous state.

On looking at the map of the Basti district, in ¼ sheet No. 87 of the Indian Atlas, it will be seen that in the northern part of the pargana of *Maholi* (" Mhowlee " of the

maps), the village of *Mundera* is situated near the crossing of three roads, about 2 miles to the west of the Katnaya river. About 9,000 feet, or 1⅝ mile to the south-south-east from the village of *Mundera*, is situated the ancient village of *Râmpur Deoriya*, near the head of a great lake called the *Marawâ Tâl*. The village of *Râmpur Deoriya* is situated about half a mile to the east-north-east from the lake. The ruined stûpa is situated at the distance of about 500 feet to the north-east from the village of *Râmpur*, and the stûpa stands between two ancient tanks. This, then, is the *Râmâgrâma* of the Buddhist chronicles. I shall presently describe the place more minutely.

Now, in Stanislas Julien's French translation of Hwen Thsang's travels, the Chinese pilgrim is made to say that the stûpa was situated to the south-east of the town of *Râma-grâma*; but from the result of my own discoveries, it is evident that Hwen Thsang must have meant to say either that the stûpa was situated to the north-east of the town, or else that the town was situated to the south-west of the stûpa. The village of Râmpur itself is situated on a considerably large mound of ruins, which is of greater extent than the present village. And at the north-west corner of the village there is a large elevated bare space of ruined mound, composed of solid bricks, which must apparently have been occupied by some large building in ancient times, probably by the *Monastery* mentioned by Hwen Thsang as existing at *Râmâgrâma*. There are, altogether, six tanks, or ponds, at *Râmpur*, of which four surround the village, one being at the north-east corner, another at the north-west corner, another at the south-west corner, and another at the south-east corner. The last is said to be modern, and is the largest and most regular-shaped. The other five are all ancient. The remaining two ponds are situated respectively to the north-north-east and north-east of the village. These are said to be the most ancient of the whole six. These latter two have become shallow, from being silted up in the lapse of centuries, and become dry during the hot weather. The furthest north-eastern pond is the most ancient of all; and it is close to

the south-west side of this ancient pond, or tank, that the stûpa is situated.

The brick stûpa is situated 240 feet to the south-west of the ancient tank, and 500 feet to the north-east of the village of *Râmpur*. The present perpendicular height of this ruined stûpa is about 20 feet. But it stands upon the ruined remains of a brick platform, which projects somewhat beyond the base of the ruined stûpa, but most considerably on the north-eastern and southern sides; and therefore the actual perpendicular height of the top of the stûpa above the level of the ground surrounding it may be about 25 feet. The measurement up the sloping side of the stûpa was about from 48 to 50 feet. The diameter of the ruined stûpa at base appeared to be about 85 feet. The top of the ruined stûpa is surmounted by a thick stone *lingam*, which stands in the centre of the ruins of the foundations of a very small square building. There were several fragments of sculpture collected around the *lingam,* all of which appeared to be portions of statues. I saw one very large and heavy black stone base of a statue, which could not be moved by one man. There was also a fragment of a statue of *Buddha,* and there were two fragments of small stone umbrellas, which had probably belonged to the stûpa. The rest of the fragments of sculpture appeared to have belonged to *Jain* and *Vaishnava* statues. I counted fully ten fragments of sculpture altogether.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that this conical mound of brick at *Râmpur* is the remains of a stûpa, as the circular courses of bricks were clearly visible, in several places, and the whole mound was one solid mass of brick masonry. Besides, I found several large wedge-shaped bricks, with their larger ends convexly curved, lying close round about the stûpa.

A sloping mass of brick, about 80 feet in length, runs down from the north-east front of the stûpa to the ancient tank. This was probably originally a ghât leading from the stûpa to the tank. I, therefore, believe that it must have been in this ancient tank that the dragons, or *nâgas*, lived, who guarded the stûpa, and who assumed the forms of men

during the day, but again resumed the shapes of *nâgas* at night. There is also a projection of brick masonry on the south side of the stûpa.

At the distance of about 300 feet to the south-west from the stûpa, there is another ancient tank; and about 100 feet to the north of the latter, there is a third, but smaller, tank or pond. On the bank of this last-named tank, there is an old tree; and the people of the village of *Râmpur* informed me that a *bhût*, or demon, frequented this spot, which startled people by appearing as a large *nâg*, or serpent, at night, but assumed the form of a man, or *faqir*, or *jogi*, during the day. Here, then, at *Râmpur*, we have the veritable traditional remains of the Buddhist legend about the "*nâgas* of the tank," who guarded the stûpa, and assumed the forms of men during the day.

To the north of *Râmpur*, and about half-way between *Râmpur* and *Mundera*, there is the distinct bed of an ancient river, which runs from west-north-west to east-south-east. This ancient river bed appears to come from a lake which lies between two places marked as *Kalra* and *Chappea* on the map, about 3 miles to north-west of *Râmpur*; and then one branch of it appears to fall into the head, or northern end, of the *Marawâ Tâl*; while another branch appeared to run eastwards towards the *Katnaya river*, about *Bathea*. From the southern end of the *Marawâ Tâl*, a nâlâ, or old river bed, runs in a south-easterly direction, and falls into the *Katnaya river* to the east of *Charaoniya* (the "Churownea" of the maps).

I have been thus particular in describing the course of this ancient river bed, because it may, perhaps, represent the former channel of a river mentioned in the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles, which is fabled to have destroyed the stûpa of *Râmâgrâma*, or at least to have washed away the relic which was contained in it. But, at any rate, the stûpa was still standing entire in the time of both Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang; and, as has been already stated, I myself found a considerable portion of the stûpa still remaining, consisting of a conical mass of solid brick-work upwards of 20 feet high. It is evident

therefore, that the stûpa never could have been destroyed, and that the story must have been invented by the Ceylonese chroniclers, in order to account for the fabled transportation of the relic to Ceylon by the agency of water-gods.

General Cunningham, in his Ancient Geography of India, page 423, infers that "the original 'tank' of Râmâgrâma was adroitly changed into a river by the Ceylonese author, so that the relics which were in charge of the nâgas of the tank might be conveyed to the ocean-palace of the nâga king, from whence they could as readily be transferred to Ceylon as to any other place." To the above I would now venture to add the following suggestion, namely—that in the original Chinese text of the travels of Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, may it not be possible that the Chinese word which has been translated as meaning a "tank or pond" might, perhaps, equally well, have applied to a lake? Now, the *Râmpur* stûpa is situated at the distance of a little over 2,000 feet to the west of the bank of the great lake called the *Marawâ Tâl;* but during the rainy season the water of the lake approaches within a much shorter distance of the stûpa. The lake also has the appearance of having once been much larger than it is now; and in ancient times, when there was much jangal and marshy land in that part of the country, and the rivers and lakes contained much more water than they do now, there is no doubt that the *Marawâ lake* must have been more extensive than at present and the expanse of water must have been more permanent and equable; and then, in that case, the water of the lake must have reached up to within a very short distance of the stûpa at Râmpur. Consequently, I think that the remarks of Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang may very possibly in reality have referred to the lake, and not to any mere artificial tank; and that it was the lake which was said to be inhabited by *nâgas*, or *dragons!*

The lake, called the *Marawâ Tâl*, is now a little over 1¼ mile in length from north to south. It is broad at its northern end, but narrow at its southern end. The breadth of the lake

towards its northern end is a little more than half a mile, but towards the southern end the breadth decreases to a little over a quarter of a mile. In the hot season, during the months of March, April, and May, the water of the lake is of course subject to great evaporation from the excessive heat of the sun, and becomes considerably dried up, and then the extent of the water becomes very much less! But, having thus now finally and conclusively identified *Râmpur Deoriya* with *Râmâgrâma*, it may be asked how it was that in my report on *Bhuila*, or *Kapilavastu*, I had proposed to identify *Koraon dih*, about 3 miles[1] further to the south, with *Râmâgrâma?* Well, in explanation I may now state that the actual fact of the matter is, that I had really, at first, proposed to identify *Râmpur* with *Râmâgrâma*, long before I had even heard of such a place as *Koraon dih!*

The way of it was this. Soon after my arrival at *Bhuila*, and after I had found reason to identify it with *Kapilavastu*, I then next began to look out for a fitting site for *Râmâgrâma*, which was said to have been situated at the travelling distance of about 30 miles in a south-easterly direction from it. I then took the compasses, and placing one leg on the spot, on the map, occupied by *Bhuila dih*, I measured a distance of about 30 miles in a south-easterly direction. The other leg of the compasses then fell upon a spot very near a village marked down on the map under the name of "*Nagra*," which is situated about a mile to the south-east of the *Marawâ Tâl*, before mentioned. But I knew that both Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang must have travelled by a somewhat round-about route from *Kapilavastu* to *Râmâgrâma*, and that therefore the travelling distances given by them must have been far in excess of the actual direct distance, if measured on the map. I also remembered, at the same time, that General Cunningham had himself estimated the probable distance of *Râmâgrâma* from *Kapilavastu* at about 28 miles. I consequently ran my finger a short distance back on the line which I had drawn, and it passed over

[1] The actual direct distance is less than 3 miles, but more than 2½ miles.

"*Râmpur*," which is situated just about 26 miles to the south-east from *Bhuila*.

But it must be remembered that the Chinese travellers did not go straight from *Kapilavastu* to *Râmâgrâma*, but they appear to have visited the *Sara Kûpa*, and the *Lumbini Garden*, and *Koli* or *Vyâghrapura*, on their way. In my Report on *Bhuila*, I have identified the *Sara Kûpa* with *Sarkuhiya*, about 3½ miles to the south of *Bhuila*, and I have identified *Koli* or *Vyâghrapura* with the *Barâh Chhetra* or *Varâha Kshetra* (the *Vyaghrapuri* of the *Puranas*), which is situated about 9 miles direct to the east of *Bhuila*. I will not, however, here take any account of the *Sara Kûpa*, but simply consider the distance from *Kapilavastu* to *Vyâghrapura* alone. Now, 9 miles direct, as measured on the map, would become about 10 miles in actual travelling distance. We may, therefore, estimate the travelling distance from *Bhuila* (or *Kapilavastu*) to the *Varaha Kshetra* (or *Vyâghrapura*) at about 10 miles. Next, again, the distance from the *Barâh Chhetra*, or *Varâha Kshetra*, on the *Kuâno river*, to *Râmpur Deoriya*, on the *Marawâ Tâl*, is about 17½ miles, direct, as measured on the map; but in actual travelling distance it becomes fully 20 miles (as I myself found it). Thus, therefore, the total travelling distance, by this route, from *Bhuila* to *Râmpur*, becomes fully 30 miles, which is 2 miles more than the "28 miles" estimated by General Cunningham, and 3½ miles less than the "200 *li*," or 33½ miles, given by Hwen Thsang.

Thus, in every single particular,—in name, in distance, in position, and in the possession of a stûpa, and a mound of ruins,—*Râmpur* agrees or coincides exactly with *Râmâgrâma*; I therefore believe that there cannot be the slightest doubt now of the absolute correctness of my final identification of *Râmpur Deoriya* with the *Râmâgrâma* of the Buddhist chronicles.

When first I placed my finger on the name of *Râmpur*, in the map, I said to myself, "This must surely be *Râmâgrâma!*" I then tried to obtain some information about the place; and at length, by accident, I happened to meet some natives who

had been there, and who told me that this *Râmpur* was an old village, situated upon a *dih*, or mound of brick ruins; and that near it there was a separate high conical mound of brick which they called a *deori*. Soon afterwards (being myself disabled by a severe accident), I sent an exploring party in that direction, but who, instead of visiting *Râmpur*, discovered *Koraon dih*. As my exploring party, on their return, gave a very glowing account of *Koraon Dih*, and I had not had any opportunity, then, of obtaining any further information about *Râmpur*, I was for a while inclined to think that *Koraon Dih* might turn out to be the site of *Râmâgrâma*. But a subsequent account of the place which I afterwards received disappointed my expectations, and did not prove at all satisfactory. And when, at length, eventually I was enabled to visit *Râmpur*, personally I had no longer any doubts on the subject, and I became convinced, by what my own eyes saw on the spot, that *Râmpur* was the true *Râmâgrâma*.

This explanation will therefore account for my having now so summarily discarded *Koraon dih*, and substituted *Râmpur* in its stead as the representative of *Râmagrâma*.

3.—MANEYA, AND THE ANOMA RIVER.

1. *Maneya*.

In my preceding general Report on *Bhuila* or *Kapilavastu*, it will be seen that I had proposed to identify the *Maneya* of the Buddhist traditions with an extensive ruined site, on which there is a temple dedicated to *Tameswar Nâth*, which is situated at a small *nâlâ*, or water-course, which runs eastwards into the *Kûdawâ river*, a short distance to the south-south-east of a village which is marked as *Mheneea* in the maps, but the real name of which is *Menhiya*.

I am happy to say that I have since been enabled to confirm this identification by a personal visit to, and inspection of, the site; for on leaving *Râmpur* (my *Râmâgrâma*), I proceeded as straight as possible east-south-eastwards,

across the Katnâya river, to the ruined site at *Tameswar Nâth*, near the *Kûdawâ nadi*.

The direct distance, as measured on the map, from *Râmpur* to *Tameswar Nâth*, is about 9½ miles, in an east-south-easterly direction. But in travelling the distance is much greater. I myself found it to be fully a 12-mile journey, which it took the greater part of a night to accomplish; or, say, about 6 hours, or from about 9 o'clock at night until about 3 o'clock in the morning, which, at the rate of about 2 miles an hour for heavily laden camels, including the crossing of Katnâya river, gives, as a result, a journey of about 12 miles; for, on looking at the map, it will be seen that one cannot go straight from *Râmpur* to *Mheneea* and *Tameswar Nâth*, but that one has to make a wide circuit round the whole northern end of the *Marawâ* lake; and next, one has to avoid several nâlâs and some small jheels, which lie in the way, and, lastly, one has to follow down the west bank of the tortuously winding Katnâya river, until one comes to a ghât or ferry, a little below, or to the south of, *Gajpur*, the name of a village on the opposite or east bank of the Katnâya river. If one could fly straight across the *Marawâ* lake, the direct distance from *Râmpur* to *Gajpur* would be 6½ miles, and the direct distance from *Gajpur* to *Tameswar Nâth* is 3 miles, which makes a total distance of 9½ miles. But as one cannot fly, but one is obliged to follow the only practicable beaten tracks, the actual travelling distance of the journey proves to be fully 12 miles,—which shows that the circuitous detours which one is obliged to make, amount to about 2½ miles—

Or thus—

Direct distance	. . . . .	9½ miles.
Turns and windings	. . . . .	2½ "
	Total	. 12 miles.

I have taken all this trouble to explain the route most minutely, because Hwen Thsang states that the distance

he travelled from *Râmâgrâma* to the *Anoma* river, which *Buddha* is said to have leaped his horse across, was 100 *li*, or 16⅔rds miles. Now, I have identified the *Anoma* river with the *Kûdawâ nadi*, which literally means "the leaped river," or "the river of the leap." The distance from the ruined site at *Tameswar Nâth* to the *Kûdawâ nadi* is about 1 mile, in a north-easterly direction; but below this point the course of the stream turns off at a sharp angle eastwards, and joins the *Ami* river about 2 miles to the south of *Maghar*, and about 5 miles to the east of *Tameswar Nâth*. Thus, the whole travelling distance from *Râmpur* to the *Kûdawâ nadi*, near *Tameswar Nâth*, is about 13 miles.

Again, I have already previously shown that the travelling distance, or actual journey, from *Bhuila* (the site of *Kapilavastu*) to *Râmpur Deoriya*, near the *Marawâ Tâl*, amounts to about 30 miles. If we now add to this the travelling distance of 13 miles from *Râmpur* to the *Kûdawâ nadi*, we then get a total distance of 43 miles from *Bhuila* to the *Kûdawâ nadi*. Now, it is remarkable that this is, as nearly as possible, the very distance given in the *Lalita Vistâra*, from *Kapilavastu* to the *Anoma* river, for it is stated in the *Lalita Vistâra* that the distance was "6 *yojans*," which is equal to 42 miles!

If we add to the above exact coincidence the fact that I learnt at last from a few persons, after many patient and repeated enquiries, that the ancient name of the extensive ruined site around *Tameswar Nâth* had been *Maneyba*, or *Maneyag*, or *Maneo*, or *Maneywa*, or *Manai Nagar*, or *Manaiya*, I say it makes the concatenation of my identifications absolutely certain!

When I was in the neighbourhood of *Râmpur*, and was making enquiries about the road which people generally travelled who went to visit the shrine of *Tameswar Nâth*, I accidentally heard from a person that the ancient name of the *dih*, or ruined site, at *Tameswar Nâth* had been "*Manég*," or "*Manéyag*." But when at length I reached the place itself, and encamped by the extensive mounds of ancient ruins which surround the temple of *Tameswar Nâth*,

I learnt that the latter, "*Tameswar*," was only the name of the temple,—or rather of the *lingam* of *Mahadeo* which it contained,—but that, properly speaking, it was not the name of the place, and certainly not the name of the ancient ruins. I also further learnt that the present temple was comparatively modern; and it had evidently been built on the ruined site of some other much more ancient building. The name of the temple was derived from the *lingam*, or from the zamindars of a mauza called *Tama*, who had been benefactors to the temple.

As, therefore, this most certainly was not the name of the extensive ancient ruins in this locality, I felt convinced that the ancient site must have had an ancient name! I accordingly commenced to institute enquiries upon the subject. At first the people generally said that they did not know the name of the ancient ruined site,—that it had no name, but that they had heard that it had been the site of a large and very ancient city, in some former *yûg*, or age. But at length, a party whom I had sent out to make enquiries and to explore, fell into conversation with some *thâkurs*, or zamindars, of a village to the south, whom they met, and asked them what was the name of the *dih*, or extensive mound of ruins. The *thâkurs* replied that they had heard that it was the site of an ancient city called *Maneyba*. But a Brahman, or *Pujâri*, interrupted them, and said that he had heard that it was called *Manai*, or *Maney dih*, or *Manaiya Nagari*. Afterwards I myself met an intelligent native of a village to the north, who, when asked about the matter, said "Yes," it was true he had heard that the ancient name of the old *dih*, or ruined site, about Tameswar, had been "*Maneo*," or "*Manaiwa*," or "*Maneywa*." (I give his mode of pronouncing the name as near as I possibly can.) Another man added the word "*Nagar*" to the name, as expressed by his exclaiming—"*Hân! Manainagar*."

2.—*Anuvaineya, and the Anoma River.*

With regard to the *Kûdawâ nadi*, I have already intimated that its name may be taken literally to signify

"the river of the leap,"—if connected with the Hindi verb *kûdanâ*, "to leap," and might thus traditionally refer to the legend about Buddha leaping his horse across the river. It is however, at the same time, just possible that the name of the *Kûdawâ* river may be a corruption of the Sanskrit *kshudra*, meaning "small," or "little;" and in that case the "*Anoma*" of the Buddhist chronicles might possibly be a mis-spelling of *Anâma*, meaning "nameless," or "insignificant;" or it might perhaps be connected with the Sanskrit *anu*, *anuh*, or *anvih*, meaning "small," or "minute."

The *Kûdawâ* is now a small, muddy, sluggish stream, and it might be leaped across by an English fox-hunter who was a good rider across country. But the *Kûdawâ* always contains some water, in deep pools, even during the dry hot weather; and when I was there in the month of April, the *dhobis*, or washermen, were washing their clothes in it. During the rainy season, of course, the *Kûdawâ* becomes a large and formidable torrent, and spreads out into many collateral branch channels, some of which I saw. This stream is sometimes called the *Kûdawâ nadi*, and sometimes the *Kûdawâ nâlâ*:—the application of the terms *nadi*, or *nâlâ*, respectively, I suppose very much depending upon the local character of the channel, at any particular part, or upon how much water there may be remaining in the channel, at different seasons and in the different localities through which it passes. But, however that may be, it is not a mere *nâlâ*, but simply the diminished channel of what must, at some former period, have been a considerable river, and of which a distinct river plain, traversed by several old deserted dry channels, on both sides of the present channel, afford the clearest evidence. The real fact of the matter is, that the *Kûdawâ* is an ancient channel of the *Katnâya* river, which now flows nearly parallel to the Kûdawa, at the short distance of only about 3 miles to the west of it. Now, the name of the *Katnâya* literally means "the *new cut*," and which indicates that it must be a new channel which some river has cut for itself, perhaps almost within the memory of the present generation. And, as all rivers which

flow from north to south have an invariable tendency to work their way westwards, it is plain that the *Katnâya* must be a new or recent channel of some river which has worked its way westwards, from some former more easterly course; and that former more easterly course can only have been in the bed of the *Kûdawâ nâlâ*, which runs only about 3 miles to the east of it! If, therefore, the water which now flows into the channel of the *Katnâya* may really have flowed in the bed of the *Kûdawâ* in the time of *Buddha*, it must then have been a river of considerable size, volume, and depth, with a full and permanent, or perennial, flow of water; and in that case it could only be "leapt across" by means of some special miracle, or supernatural agency; unless, indeed, at some exceptionally shallow ford. Yet, as only one river in that quarter is mentioned in the Buddhist legends, it is plain that there could not have been two so close together in the time of *Buddha;* while, at the same time, the greater part of the supply of water may, at that early period, have found its way further eastwards into the channel of the *Ami Nadi;* thus leaving the *Kûdawâ*, or *Anoma*, a stream of moderate size, or perhaps only a very little larger than it is now.

One of the feeders of the *Kûdawâ* river takes its rise from a lake which is situated between two villages called *Sisswa* and *Amia*, about 10 miles to the west-north-west of *Maghar*.

But it strikes me that the name of the *Anoma* river, if it could be written as *Anuma*, might be connected with another name which occurs in the Buddhist chronicles, namely, that of *Anuvaineya*, which was the name of the part of the country, or district, in which the town of *Maneya* was situated. General Cunningham conjectured that the latter part of the word *Anuvaineya* might be derived from the Sanskrit *venu*, "a bambu." But I am more inclined to think that it might be derived from the Sanskrit *veni*, "a confluence," or "meeting of two rivers," so that the name might mean "along the confluence," which might thus refer to the junction of the *Kûdawâ* and *Ami* rivers, 5 miles to the east

of Tameshwar Nâth. Or it might bear reference to the *Bân Ganga*, or *Bân* river, which in Sanskrit would be called the *Vâna Ganga*, which comes down southwards, from a locality to the north, near Bânpur Thana, and thence by *Bân-ki-chawar*, and which in the southern part of its course becomes connected with the *Kûdawâ nâlâ*. The river which I refer to is really the old eastern bed, or channel, of the *Katnâya* river; and it runs down from the north, from *Bân-ki-chawar*, parallel to, and close to the east of, the *Katnâya* river, southwards to the high road which goes from Basti to Gorakhpur. This river has the name of *Bân* only in the northern part of its course; but towards the south it assumes various other different names.

But let us, now, just suppose that the real ancient name of the *Kûdawâ* was *Aṇu*, meaning "small," then "*Aṇu-veni*" would mean the confluence of the *Aṇu*, or little river, or it might mean "the little confluence." Such a form as "*Aṇuma*" would be a regular derivative from *Anu*; or it might be its accusative case, just as we find *bhânuṁ* from *bhânu*, and *dhenum* from *dhenu*. So also we would have *Aṇum* from *Aṇu*. I have already said that a feeder of the *Kûdawâ* river takes its rise, in part, from a lake near two villages called *Sisswa* and *Amea*, about 10 miles to the west-north-west from Maghar. About from 1½ mile to 2 miles to the west and north-west of this lake, the old river channel, which further north and north-west was anciently called the *Bân Ganga*, or *Bân nadi*, bordered by a series of lakes, passes down from the north southwards, and runs parallel to, and close to, the east of the upper part of the *Katnâya* river. This concatenation of water channels is said, during the rainy season, to become connected both with the lake before referred to, and also with the *Kûdawâ* river. Now, it is this channel, called the *Bân Ganga*, which I believe to be the original ancient channel of the *Katnâya*, by which it formerly ran into the bed of the *Kûdawâ nâlâ*. This old easterly channel of the *Katnâya*, and the prime original sources which still serve to supply the upper or northern feeders of the *Kûdawâ*, come down southwards from a spot to the north called *Bân-ki-chawar*,

close to the east of *Bânpur Thâna;* for here, at this spot, a large river channel, called the *Bân-nâlâ* or *Bân Ganga,* commences, and runs from thence in a south-easterly direction.[1] This river channel, as I have said, is still known as the *Bân Ganga,* or *Bân nadi,* or *Budha Bân;* and, of course, the *Sanskrit* form of the name of this river would be *Vâna,* which may have been the origin of the *Vaineya,* or *Vânâya,* in the *Anuvaineya* or *Anu-vânâya* of the Buddhist chronicles. This old *Bân* river, or *Vâna Ganga,* after a course of about 19 or 20 miles, in a south-easterly direction, appears to distribute itself, over a wide space, into several channels. One of these channels unites with the *Katnâya* river, where it crosses the Government high road, at a place called *Budha Bân.* Another of these channels crosses the Government high road near a village called *Bujni* or *Bûjeni,* the (*Boojinee* of the maps), and then runs thence southwards to Jagdispur, below which it unites with the Katnaya. Another older and more easterly branch channel of the *Bân* river runs in a south-easterly direction, past the villages of *Amea* and *Sisswa,* there feeding a lake, and then joins the *Kûdawa nâlâ,* which crosses the Government high road near a village called *Jûrwa* (the *Joorwa* of the maps); and from thence the *Kûdawâ* runs southwards to Tameswar Nâth. It is thus evident that the *Bân* and the *Kûdawâ* are simply parts of one and the same river. And as *Bân* is the vernacular form of the Sanskrit *Vâna,* the district of *Anu-vaineya,* or *Anu-vânâya,* of the Buddhist chronicles, must have been the tract of country lying along the *Vâna* river; and it also consequently follows that the *Bân, Vâna,* or *Kûdawâ,* must be the *Anoma* of the Buddhist traditions. But as the *Kûdawâ* at first runs parallel to, and afterwards joins, the *Ami* or *Ambi* river, perhaps *Anoma* may be a contraction of *Anu-âmra*, or *Anu-âmba*, meaning a river that

[1] This *Bân* river must not be confounded with another river called the *Bân Ganga,* much further to the north-north-east, which joins the *Rapti* on its left or northern bank, near a place called *Kundri* to the north of *Bânsi.* This is a totally different and distinct river.

flowed along with the *Amra*, *Amba*, or *Ami* river. And that could only be the *Kúdawá* or *Bân !*

But, as a further proof of the correctness of my identification of the ruins at *Tameswar* with *Maneya*, and of the *Kúdawâ nadi* (or "leaped river"), with the *Anoma river* (which Buddha *leaped* across), and of the locality, or tract of country, lying "along" the course of the *Kúdawá nadi*, with the ancient district of "*Anu-vaineya*" (or, as I take it to be, "*Anu-vânâya*"), I may now state that further enquiries which I made subsequently have since completely confirmed the correctness of my conjectures and opinions set forth in the preceding remarks; and I have now to point out that what is called the *Kudawâ nadi* or *nâlâ* is in reality simply the southern continuation of the old bed of the *Bân Ganga* or *Bân river*, which comes down from the north, from *Bân-ki-chawar*, about 4 miles to the north-east of *Bânpur Thana*, and then runs in a south-south-easterly direction, to the *Budha Bân* bridge and *chauki*, on the high road which runs between Basti and Maghar and Gorakhpur. A short distance to the north of the road, near two villages called *Enielpur* and *Sisswa*, the *Bân* river sends off a branch towards the south-east, which afterwards crosses the road near a village called *Júrwa;* and from thence it runs southwards to *Tameswar* (or *Maneya*), where it assumes the name of the *Kúdawâ nadi*, or *nâlâ*. Now *Bân* is simply the vernacular form of the *Sanskrit Vâna;* and, therefore, the original name of the river must have been *Vâna*. Consequently, a district situated along the banks of the *Vâna river* would be called *Anu-vânâya*, which would mean "along the *Vâna;*" and which must, therefore, evidently be the original and correct Sanskrit form of the *Anu-vaineya* of the Tibetan Buddhist chronicles.

Now, I suspect that the name of the *Anoma* river contains the same base, *Anu;* and that it should really be written *Anuma;* and that, therefore, it is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Anuman*, which is the nominative case of the adjective *Anumat*, which would mean "that of which the position or course is in accordance to or with something else," that is,

"parallel to, or having the same direction, or following a course parallel to that of something else." Consequently, as applied to a river, *Anuma* (or *Anumati*) would mean—"the parallel river," or "a river whose course ran parallel to the course of some other river near to it." Now, this is actually the very case with the *Bân* or *Vâna* river, and its southern continuation, the *Kûdawâ nadi;* for the *Bân* or *Vâna* river, and its southern continuation the *Kûdawâ*, both run almost exactly parallel to the *Katnâya* river, which runs close to the west of them, at a distance of only from 1½ mile to 3 miles! (The general course of the two rivers being parallel, and any local deviations being simply owing to short local windings.) The courses of these two rivers, again, are also, for the most part, nearly parallel to that of the *Ami* river, which runs about 8 miles further to the east, so that the country there is, as it were, divided into long narrow parallel strips of land which lie between and along parallel rivers!

But the name *Anumâ* might also mean "along the boundary," meaning that the *Anumâ* river ran "along" the "boundary" of the district of "*Anu-vânâya;*" for, in this sense, *Anu-mâ* would literally mean "along the measure" or, "measuring along"), that is, "along the measured limits," or "along the boundary of dimensions," or "that which formed or marked a boundary, by lying along it:" or, as one might express it in modern Hindustani, "*Barâbar lambâi meṅ sâthi sâth, muwâfiḳ, mâp ke ḥadd ke kinâre par.*"

We may thus understand how the *Vâna*, alias *Kûdawâ*, river was *Anu-mâ* to the district of *Anu-vânâya!*

I have as yet, however, only traced the upper course of the *Bân Ganga* or *Vâna Ganga* as far north as *Bân-ki-chawar* and *Bânpur Thâna;* but in reality this ancient river had its source originally in the *Terai*, far to the north-west of *Srâvasti* or *Sâhet Mâhet*, and it thence passed down south-eastwards along the eastern side of *Srâvasti;* and thence again onwards, between *Balrâmpur* and *Bânkata;* and from thence this old river channel runs further on, east-south-eastwards, by the south of *Atraola* (the *Utrowlah* of the maps),

where it is now called the *Sũâwa Nadi*, which I take to mean the sluggish river. From thence it runs south-eastwards until it strikes the north-western boundary of the *Basti* district, at *Sisuhna*. From thence it continues to run in a south-easterly direction, for about 2½ miles, until it arrives within about half a mile of the north side of *Sihari* (the *Sehuree* of the maps). From thence, the modern course, or a new channel of this river, now turns due westwards for about 2½ miles, and joins the *Rapti* river at *Gajnehjot*; but, originally, the ancient channel of the river continued to run in a south-easterly direction, between *Pikaora* and *Gaheraola*, for about 2 miles, until it joined a lake between *Khantâru* and *Puraina*, about a mile to the north-west of a large village called *Bânpur* (but which is wrongly spelt *Bhanpoor* in the maps). From this point the ancient river channel is called the *Bân Ganga*; and it passes close by the south-west corner of *Bânpur*, and then passes thence, onwards, through a string of lakes, for about 5 miles, until it enters a long lake close to the west side of a large village called *Chapiya* (the *Chupeeah* of the maps). From this last lake a recent branch of the river runs southwards for about 5 miles, until it joins the *Kuâno* river, about 2½ miles to the west-north-west of *Kothîla*. But the ancient and original channel of the river runs from the lake near *Chapîya*, or *Chupeeah*, in an east-south-easterly direction, for about 2½ miles, until it joins a lake between *Banwadiha* and *Sasawa*, about 2 miles to the north of *Bânpur Thâna* (which is probably wrongly spelt *Bhanpoor*[1] *Thana* in the maps). From this lake a branch of the old river channel runs down southwards close past the west side of *Bânpur Thâna*; and at the distance of about 1½ mile to the south of *Bânpur Thâna*, near a village called *Kopal*, it splits into three channels, one of which runs westwards to the *Kuâno* river, while the second runs, from *Kopal* southwards, into a small lake near a village called *Ama*, and from thence it passes southwards by

[1] At least I have reason to think that the correct spelling of the name should be *Bânpur*; but it is spelt as "*Bhanpoor*" in all the maps.

a village called *Ekdangwa*, into a large lake which is the source of the *Katnâya* river, and which runs thence south-eastwards to the south-west of a large village called *Umrah* (the *Oomruh* of the maps). The third channel runs from *Kopal*, in a north-easterly direction, towards *Bân-ki-chawar*, whence the river turns down south-eastwards, and re-assumes the name of the *Bân Ganga*. But the most ancient channel of the river originally ran from the lake before mentioned as lying to the north of *Bânpur Thâna*, east-south-eastwards, direct, through a small lake, between *Kawalpur* and *Baidaoliya*, to *Bân-ki-chawar*. From *Bân-ki-chawar* the *Bân Ganga* runs southwards for about 3 miles until it reaches a village called *Sichari*. From thence the river runs for about 10 miles south-eastwards, past *Siharijot*, *Bargadawa*, *Sihaonda*, and *Bawadirpur*, to a village called *Lewarbar* or *Dewarbar*. From thence the river runs nearly southwards, or south-south-eastwards, for about 12 or 13 miles, until it reaches three villages called *Bhuandand*, *Singârpur*, and *Baraola*. From near this point the river splits into two channels, one of which runs southwards, crossing the high road which runs from *Basti* to *Maghar*, at a village called *Bûjini* (the *Boojinee* of the maps), and from thence runs southwards, past a large village called *Jagdispur*, to the south of which it joins the *Katnâya* river. The other and older branch of the *Bân Ganga* runs from near *Baraola*, east-south-eastwards, to a large lake, between two villages called *Amea* and *Sisswa*. It is from *Sisswa*, at the south-western corner of this lake, that the small river called the *Kûdawâ nadi*, or *nâlâ*, takes its rise, and which is in reality thus only an ancient channel of the *Bân Ganga*. From *Sisswa* the *Kûdawâ nadi* runs south-eastwards, past the village of *Majorea*, and crosses the high road near a village called *Jûrwa*. From thence the *Kûdawâ nadi* runs southwards for about 5 miles, until it arrives opposite to the north-east side of *Tameswar Nâth*, which I have identified with the *Maneya* of the Buddhist chronicles. From this point the *Kûdawâ nadi* runs due eastwards, for about 5 miles, until it joins the *Ami nadi*, about 2 miles to the south of *Maghar*.

Now, the above result of my investigations as to the prime source and general course and ramifications of the *Bân Ganga*, agrees exactly with the report or general opinion of all the more intelligent people of that part of the country, who said that the *Bân Ganga* took its rise from, or had its prime source in, the "hills," that is, the Himalayas, far off to the north-west, and that the upper course of the *Bân Ganga* ran past *Balrâmpur*. Consequently, from my previous description of the upper course of this river, it will appear that even *Srâvasti* itself was situated on the ancient upper course of the *Bân Ganga* or *Vâna Ganga*, at a time when the *Raptî* river flowed further off in its ancient eastern channel which is now called the *Burhi Rapti*.

In like manner, also, as I have shown, the *Katnâya* river is simply a new cut, or newer offshoot, or secondary channel, of the old *Bân Ganga*.

Thus, whatever way we take it, the country along these various parallel channels of the old *Bân Ganga* or *Vâna Ganga* would in Sanskrit be called *Anu-vânâya*, or the country along the *Vân* river. And this must, therefore, have been the true origin of the *Anu-vaineya* of the Buddhist traditions.

4.—DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINS OF MANEYA AT TAMESWAR NÂTH.

Having thus cleared the way by a most complete series of convincing proofs, I will now proceed to describe the mounds of ruins, &c., about *Tameswar*, which I have identified as the site of the ancient town of Maneya mentioned in the Buddhist chronicles.[1]

The main features of this locality are, a large deep tank of water with an extensive elevated flat-topped plateau-shaped mound of brick ruins, about half a mile in length from north to south, by about quarter of a mile in breadth from east to west, and which is densely covered with a fine shady grove of large and luxuriant trees, consisting of mango,

[1] For the position of Maneya see the map in Plate I.

mahua, pipal, jâmun, and bar, which are infested by swarms of most troublesome, mischievous, and impudent monkeys, who are the defiant masters of the place. The principal mass of ruins lies in such a position that the greatest length runs from north-west to south-east. At the northerly part of the principal mass of ruins, there is a very large and deep oblong square-shaped tank, or *sâgar*, full of water, which is surrounded by very high and massive embankments, which are full of bricks. A *nâlâ*, or water-channel, runs out of the north-west corner of the tank, which at first, for a short distance, goes notthwards, and then turns north-eastwards for about a mile until it joins the *Kûdawâ nadi* at a point about 1¼ mile to the north-east of *Tameswar*. I could not find that this *nâlâ* had any name at all; it is simply a short channel, which forms a petty tributary to the *Kûdawâ*. Yet, short as it is, this *nâlâ* is marked down in some of the maps as running in a north-easterly direction, past a village named *Jukka*.

At the point where this *nâlâ*, or small channel, first issues out of the great tank of *Tameswar*, and on the east side of the issue of the *nâlâ*, there is a high and perfectly conical mound of solid brick-work, which I estimated to be fully 25 feet in perpendicular height. It appeared to be clearly the remains of a large stûpa. This conical stûpa abuts against, or stands in contact with, the west end of the northern embankment of the tank. Nestling against the east side of the stûpa, there is a small square-domed white-washed temple, dedicated to *Pârvati* (or *Siva* and *Pârvati*). Some short distance to the south of the conical brick stûpa, and close to the foot of the western outer slope of the western embankment of the tank, there is a somewhat squarish-shaped mound of brick ruins, which has evidently been the site of some ancient building, probably of an ancient temple, or *vihâra*. But at present the top of this old mound has been appropriated as a convenient ready-made site for a *lingam* temple by the ubiquitous and everywhere parasitical Brahmans of our day, who have erected on it a pretty large square-shaped white plastered, bulb-domed temple, containing a large *lingam* of Mahâdeo, which is honoured with the name of *Tameswar Nâth*,

which, although quite modern, has now become famous, and is now the object of pilgrimages, and a great *méla*, or fair, every year, when the visitors wash their sins and their *dhotis* in the great tank, and feed fat, lazy, humbugging Brahmans with *ghi* and monkeys with rice and *chapâtis*.

Before this modern temple was built, however, the name of *Tameswar Nâth* was not even known at all! The place is said to have been a wilderness, or *jangal*, and then there was nothing but the tank, and the forest-covered mounds of ruins which are said to have been known by the name of *Maney* or *Maneyba dih*. An old man of 70 years of age still remembered this former state of things; and he attributed the change and the clearance of the forest and the settlement of the place to the time when the *Angrezi Raj* (or British Government) first became possessed of the Basti and Gorakhpur districts.

Some distance to the south of the temple of *Tameswar Nâth*, and close to the south-west side of the principal raised plateau of ruins, but a little detached and distinct from the latter, there is a mound of ruins which is longest from north to south. This appeared to contain the foundations of two ancient buildings, portions of which were still projecting above ground; and I saw several carved bricks. There are several other detached traces of ruins, here and there, to the west of this; and in many places broken bricks crop up in the ground. Again, some distance to the south-east, near a village, there is a large mound. Close to the north of the great tank there is a lower plateau of ruins, covered with scrubby jangal, or low tangled brushwood, mixed with a few large trees, which extends for some distance northwards, probably for about a third of a mile. It may be described as a slightly elevated, irregular piece of rough ground, of considerable extent northwards, full of broken bricks, and mostly covered with a tangled growth of brushwood and scrubby trees. It evidently formed a portion of the site of the ancient city.

At a short distance to the north-east of this, there is a detached roundish-shaped mound, containing bricks. Again,

further to the north, there are two great, long, and pretty high and broad embankments, the one beyond the other, which run in a direction from east to west. These long embankments contain many fragments of ancient bricks, as well as bits of old pottery. They are covered with a tangled growth of scrubby brushwood and trees. The bed of some ancient river would appear to have run between these embankments, in former times, as if it had been a cross channel connecting the *Kúdawá* with the *Katñáya*. To the east of these embankments, and close to a village, there is a detached mound of brick ruins.

Again, still further to the north, there is a bare elevated knoll of ground, which is covered with bits of old pottery, along with a few fragments of brick. This site is situated only about half a mile to the east-south-east from the village of *Menhiya*, which latter place, as I have before stated, lies about 1½ mile to the north-west of *Tameswar Náth*.

Lastly, about a mile to the north of *Tameswar Nath*, and about half a mile to the east of the village of *Menhiya*, and only about a quarter of a mile from the west bank of the *Kúdawá nadi*, and in the midst of a dense *jangal*, or forest, I found the traces of a circular brick ruin, which measured about 20 feet across, in horizontal diameter, or about 60 feet in circumference. When I saw it, it had become quite levelled down, almost even with the ground. But, on making particular enquiries about this circular brick site, I learnt from some old natives of a neighbouring village, who pastured their cattle and cut wood in the *jangal* there, that some years ago, when they were young, there was a conical mound of solid brick standing on this very site; and from the description of it which these people gave me, it appeared evident to me that it must have been a stûpa. Now, this trace of the site of what appears to have been a circular structure of brick, and on which a conical mound of solid brick-work is said to have been standing some years ago, is situated on, or close to, the west bank of the *Kúdawá* river, and only about half a mile to the south of the old road, which here crosses the *Kúdawá*. I therefore believe

that it must have been a stûpa, which marked the spot where *Buddha* crossed the *Anoma* river, which latter I have already identified with the *Kûdawâ*.

The whole of the west bank of the *Kûdawâ nadi*, to the north of *Tameswar*, is bordered by a dense *jangal*, or forest, which is still inhabited by wild animals, such as *nilgai*, and even some *sâmbar*, or other deer. I myself saw eight *nil-gai* there in one day.

From the preceding long and minute account which I have given, it will be seen that the traces of ruins round about *Tameswar* extend over a very wide space. If all the traces of ruins be included, then the whole space over which they extend, if we include also the gaps or breaks which occur between them, must be about 1¼ mile, or perhaps nearly 1½ mile, from north to south, by about half a mile from east to west. This would indicate the former existence of an ancient city of considerable size and importance, which had probably numerous religious establishments attached to it, among which we may suppose there were many *Buddhist vihâras* and monasteries.

But I may here mention that a tradition was related to me, on the spot, to the effect that the ancient city of *Maneyba*, or *Maney Nagar*, was said to have originally extended westwards, all the way to *Deoriya*, *Gajpur*, *Kundaola*, and *Mainsar* (or *Mânesar*). But it is said that at some former period, when the *Kûdawâ nâlâ* was a large river, it overflowed its banks, owing to an excessive flood of water, and broke through across westwards, and formed a temporary junction with the *Katnâya*, and that then a part of the ancient city was destroyed. Well, as regards this story, I dare say that the suburbs of the ancient city may once have extended as far west as *Deoriya*; but I doubt whether they can ever have extended any further. At the same time I think it is very possible that the name of a village, which is marked in the map as *Mainsar*, may be connected with that of *Maneya*; for *Mainsar* would appear to be a mis-spelling of *Mânesar*. (Query?—as if for *Maneysir?*—or *Mâneyeswar?*) This village is situated about 2 miles to south-west

of *Tameswar*, which latter is likewise commonly pronounced as *Tamesar*.

I have only further to add, in conclusion, that while I was in this locality, I was informed that a *tâamba patra*, or copper plate with inscription, had been found, which was in the possession of a person named *Kishan Bhât*, a resident of a village called *Seosarra*, about 2 miles to the north of *Tameswar*; but I could not induce the finder's family to acknowledge anything about it. Indeed, they were very angry and abusive at any enquiries being made about it.

5.—THE THREE STÛPAS:—OF "CHANDAKA'S RETURN,"—OF "THE CUT HAIR,"—AND OF "THE CHANGED GARMENTS."

After crossing the *Anoma* river, Prince *Siddhartha*, or *Buddha*, dismissed his attendant *Chandaka* with his horse. He next took off his royal garments, and exchanged them for those of a hunter (supposed to be *Brahma* in disguise). Lastly, he cut off his long locks of hair. On each of the spots on which each of these acts, respectively, was performed a stûpa was erected, so that there were three stûpas altogether, near one another, beyond and to the east of the *Anoma* river.

Now, it appears, from a correct interpretation of Hwen Thsang's own statement, that the distance given by him of "100 *li*," or 16⅔rds miles, eastwards, from *Râmâgrâma*, was not calculated to the *Anoma* river, but to the three stûpas just mentioned, which were situated at some distance beyond or to the east of that river, which is a very different thing, and a most important point in favour of my identifications, as will presently be seen.

It is exactly 10½ miles direct, in a straight line, measured on the map, from *Rampur Deoriya* (identified with *Râmâgrâma*), eastwards, to the place which I have identified as the site of the three stûpas referred to; but the distance by the round-about route which has actually to be followed in travelling, is even now not less than about 15 miles,

and may very easily have been a journey of as much as 16 miles, in ancient times, when there were only mere tracks through a country then characterised by much dense forest interspersed with marshy lakes, and numerous water-courses.

I have already previously stated that my own march, by the commonly followed round-about route, from *Râmpur* (or *Râmâgrâma*) to *Tameswar Nâth* (or *Maneya*) proved to be about 12 miles. Now, the place which I have identified as the site of the Three Stûpas, is situated on the bank of a lake called the *Sarsara* or *Sirsarao Tál*, about a mile to the north of a village called *Lachmipur*, and at the distance of about 3½ miles to the north-east from *Tameswar Nâth* (or *Maneya*). This distance of 3½ miles, added to the 11 or 12 miles, or thereabouts, previously travelled, makes a total distance of about 15 miles, which is the nearest possible approximation to the "16⅔ miles" (equivalent of "100 *li*") estimated by Hwen Thsang.

As I have already previously intimated, the spot which I have identified as the site of the three Stûpas, is situated on some high ground, on the east side of a lake called the *Sarsara, Sirsara* or *Sirsarao Tâl*, and about a mile or less to the north of a village called *Lachmipur*, which latter place lies about 3½ miles to the north-east from *Tameswar Nâth* (or *Maneya*), and about 2½ miles to the south-west of *Mag'har*. I think that the name of the lake *Sirsara* may possibly be a corruption of *Sirasarovar*, or *Sirsaras*, meaning "the lake of the head;" and might thus refer to *Buddha* having here cut off the hair of his head. *Sârâo* also means "a *lid*;" but the name might be connected with the Hindi *sârnâ*, "to dress," "to perform;" and *Sirsâra* might mean "of the dressed head."

There is also a village called *Sirsarao*, which is situated on the eastern bank of the lake. This village stands on an elevation, which appeared to be a *dih*, or large mound of ruins; and it had every appearance of being a very ancient site,—perhaps of a Buddhist *vihâra*. About 400 feet to the east of the village of *Sirsarao*, and in the corner

of a grove of trees, there is a roundish conical stûpa mound, composed chiefly of earth, with a few fragments of brick. This mound is at present about 10 feet in perpendicular height, by about 30 feet in diameter at base. On the top of the mound there is a stone *lingam* of *Mahâdeo*. This mound is certainly the remains of a stûpa; and I think that this might very probably be the remains of the stûpa which marked the spot where Buddha cut off his hair, if it were not that it is the first object of the kind met with in coming from the west, and would therefore, perhaps, more probably correspond, in first position, to the stûpa which marked the spot where Buddha parted from his servant and his horse. Moreover, the *Sirsara Tâl* is simply a part of the bed of some ancient river, perhaps an old eastern channel of the *Kûdawâ nâlâ*. At any rate, even now, when during the rainy season water flows through and out of the *Sirsara Tâl*, it finds its way thence southwards into the *Kûdawâ nâlâ*. Thus, the *Sirsara* stûpa mound may, in ancient times, have had a river flowing close past it.

Next, about 300 feet to the north-east from the *Sirsara* stûpa mound, there is a massive mound of solid brick, somewhat circular in shape. This mound measured about 50 feet across in horizontal diameter; but its present height does not exceed from 5 to 6 feet. I was informed by a man who lived close to the spot that, some time previously, this mound was surrounded by a grove which consisted principally of *Jamun* and *Jambu* trees, the *Jamun* being mostly on the north side of the mound, and the *Jambu* being to the south and south-west, between the mound and the lake. Now, it is mentioned by Hwen Thsang that there was a "*Jambu* tree" near a stûpa where Buddha changed his dress with that of a hunter (supposed to be *Brahma*). It would therefore appear probable that this mound of solid brick may be the remains of the stûpa which marked the spot where this change of dress took place. There was formerly a well at the north-west side of this mound, which had fallen in and become filled up. I will, for convenience sake, call this mound the "central mound," or "middle stûpa," as I

shall have again to refer to it, in giving the bearings of another smaller mound to the eastwards of it.

Again, about 370 feet to the north of the central mound just described, there is a high ground covered by trees, and surmounted by a large circular-shaped, round-topped mound, presenting a gradual slope, and very much resembling a large low round-topped Druidical barrow, or a huge inverted saucer; although it appears to be of a considerably greater height at a distance, owing to the surrounding ground sloping away down from it on all sides. This mound contains ancient bricks, and has evidently been the site of some ancient circular building, probably a large stûpa. It measured fully 100 feet across; or a little over 300 feet in circumference at the foot of its slope. This mound is called *Maha-thân* or *Maha-sthân*, and I believe it may be the site of the great stûpa built by *Asoka* on the spot where Prince Siddhartha, or Buddha, parted with his horse, and ordered his servant to return to *Kapila*. In that case the *Sirsara* stûpa must then mark the spot where Buddha cut off his hair; while the central mound of solid brick must be the remains of the stûpa which marked the spot where Buddha exchanged dresses with a hunter. Close to the east of the *Maha-thân* mound there is a village also called *Maha-thân*.

Lastly, some distance to the south-south-east from *Maha-thân*, and about 550 feet to the east-south-east-and-half south-east from the central mound of solid brick, there is a smaller longish ridge-shaped mound of brick ruins, with a small ancient well at the north-west side of it. I shall call this the *Paithâna* mound, because there is a village called "*Paithâna*" situated at a moderate distance (about the length of two fields) to the north-east of it.[1]

Thus, the whole of the mounds in this locality may be classed under the following headings of—1, the *Sirsara* mounds: 2, the Central mound: 3, the *Maha-than* mound: and 4, the *Paithâna* mound.

[1] It is, perhaps, possible that the name of this place should be spelt *Pahi-thâna* or *Pahi-sthâna*, which would mean "the Place of the Heap."

The above are simply the actual prominent mounds; but the whole ground surrounding them contains fragments of ancient bricks, and I should say that the whole area of ground bearing traces of brick ruins extended for about 1,400 feet from east to west, by about 700 or 800 feet from north to south.

I should suppose the place to have been originally occupied by numerous religious buildings, such as monasteries, or *vihâras*, besides the stûpas.

6.—THE CITY OF THE MORIYAS IN THE NYAGRODHA FOREST.

On their departure from the neighbourhood of the *Anoma* river, both of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang proceeded, in an east-south-easterly direction, to visit the *City of the Moriyas*, where there was a stûpa in which were enshrined the charcoal ashes of the funeral pyre of Buddha. Fa-Hian makes the distance from the *Anoma* river to the *City of the Moriyas* to be 4 *yojans*, or 28 miles, in an easterly direction; but Hwen-Thsang gives the distance as 180 to 190 *li*, or from 30 to 32 miles, in a south-easterly direction, and he states that the *Moriya City* and the "Ashes Stûpa" were situated in a forest of *Nyagrodha* trees.

I have identified the site of the city of the *Moriyas* with a very extensive series of ruins called *Râjdhâni* or *Updhaolia*, which are situated on the *Gorra* river, in the *Gorakhpur* district at the distance of about 30 miles, in a south-easterly direction, from the *Kûdawâ nadi*, near the ruins at Tameswar, or Maneya, and about 29 miles in a direct line south-east from the *Mahâ-Thân dih*, or the "Three Stupâs;" and at the distance of about 14 miles to the south-south-east-half-south from Gorakhpur. Here there are the extensive ruined remains of a very large ancient city, called *Râjdhâni*, which appears to have extended from the *Rapti* river on the west, to the *Pharēnd* river on the east, or for a distance of about 4 miles from west-south-west to east-north-east, with an irregular breadth varying from about 1 mile to 1½, to perhaps

1½ mile from north to south. The ruins commence near *Dîh Ghât* on the left or eastern bank of the *Rapti* river,—a series of detached mounds of brick ruins extending thence eastwards to the *Gorra* river. Next, on the eastern bank of the *Gorra* river, there is a very large mound of ruins, called *Updhaoliya dih*, which is about a mile in length, from north to south, by about from 1,500 to 2,000 feet in breadth, from west to east. On the eastern part of the *dih* there is a solid cone of brick, which is still nearly 30 feet in perpendicular height. This conical pile of solid brick-work I was at *first* inclined to identify as the remains of the famous stûpa in which the charcoal ashes of Buddha's funeral pyre were enshrined. It is true that it is a cone, or conical-shaped pile, of solid brick-work; but it might just possibly turn out to be the ruined conical spire, or *sikhar*, of an ancient pyramidal temple, instead of a stûpa! This matter will afterwards be considered further on.

Again, at the south-eastern corner of the *dih*, there is another ruined stûpa, which may be about 17 or 18 feet in perpendicular height.

Next, at the distance of about two-thirds of a mile to the north-east of *Updhaolia dih*, there is the village of *Râjdhâni* which is situated on part of a wide flattish mound of ruins the rest of which was covered with *jangal*. Lastly, about 1¼ mile to the north-east of *Râjdhâni*, there is an ancient square brick fort, or at least a great square brick enclosure, called *Sâhankot*, which is situated in the midst of a dense forest of *Bar*, *Sâl*, *Jâmun*, and other trees, and at the distance of about half a mile from the banks of the *Pharēnd* river. This square brick enclosure, which may be called the *Râjdhâni Sâhankot*, measured about 1,900 feet in length from west to east, by about 1,300 feet in breadth from north to south. But traces of brick ruins, or at least broken bricks in the ground, already commence in the *jangal*, half-way between the village of *Râjdhâni*, and the ancient fort of *Sâhankot*.[1]

[1] See Plate II for map showing the positions of Sâhankot and Upadhaslia.

Now, I have already stated that the whole of the ruined sites which I have described *seriatim* above, are evidently all, together, the remains of one great ancient city. I have also stated that the whole of these ruins, taken together, are generally known by the name of *Râjdhâni*, and that I found the remains of stûpas there, including one in particular which I have identified with the famous stûpa which contains the charcoal ashes of Buddha's funeral pyre. Now, the name *Râjdhâni* means "the capital city," or metropolis, and, therefore, I feel certain that this is the actual site of the capital city of the *Moriyas* in the *Nyagrodha* forest! And here, also, one still finds the remains of an ancient forest, which now extends from the village of *Râjdhâni* to the *Pharēnd* river, but which, a few years ago (before an indigo factory had been established at *Updhaoliya*) actually extended over *Updhaolia dih* itself; and here also one finds numerous ancient *Bar* trees, and several places in the same locality, which have derived their names from the *Bar* tree, such as *Barhei*, *Barehi*, and *Barhaira*. And *Bar* and *Nyagrodha* are simply two different names for the same tree, or rather, *Nyagrodha* is simply one of the *Sanskrit* names of the *Bar* tree.

Lastly, with regard to the distance and position of the place. The Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang makes the distance either from the *Anoma* river, or from the Three Stûpas to the east of it to the *City of the Moriyas*, to be 180 to 190 *li*, or from 30 to 32 miles. Now, I have already stated that the ruins really commence near *Dih Ghât*, on the east bank of the *Rapti* river. The distance from the *Kûdawâ nadi* (which I have identified with the *Anoma*), near *Tameswar*, to the ruins near *Dih Ghât*, is exactly 30 miles; while the distance from my proposed site of the Three Stûpas at *Mahâ-Thân*, is about 29 miles; but it must be remembered that these are the direct distances in a straight line, as measured on the map; while the travelling distance is considerably over 30 miles, which exactly agrees with Hwen Thsang's estimate.

Having thus expounded, explained, and elucidated my identification of the site of the *City of the Moriyas*, and having given a sort of general description of the locality which

I myself firmly believe to be the site of this ancient city, I will now proceed to give a more particular description of the ruins in detail.

As I said before, the traces of ruins commence near *Dih Ghât*, near the left or east bank of the *Rapti* river, and they extend thence, first in an easterly direction, across the *Gorra* river, and then from thence they extend in a north-easterly direction, to the *Pharênd* river, altogether a distance of about 4 miles.[1] On the other hand, with regard to the extent of the ruins from north to south, or rather from south-south-west to north-north-east, this can only be estimated piece-meal, or in parts. The extent of ground covered by detached mounds of ruins, from north to south, to the east and south-east of *Dih Ghât*, or between the *Rapti* and the *Gorra* rivers, is about three-quarters of a mile, from the village of *Karhæi* to the village of Kohat, the extent of ground here, from west to east, occupied by detached mounds, or traces of ruins, being also about three-quarters of a mile, which is only about a quarter of a mile less than the actual distance between the *Rapti* and *Gorra* rivers at this point.

Here, in this space, when I visited the place in the month of May 1876, there were about ten detached mounds of ruins, which were of middling size, and perhaps about a dozen more, which were either of very small size, or else mere slightly elevated points and patches, containing fragments of broken brick.[2] The larger-sized mounds, which were distinct and conspicuous mounds of ruins, appeared as if they were the ruins of several separate buildings. Some of them may have been stûpas, but others were certainly temples. One westerly mound, in the corner of a grove of mango trees, was circular and round-topped, or dome-shaped, but it had lost its bricks, and appeard to be then mostly composed of earth. It had a stone *lingam* on the top of it. I think this mound might be the remains of a stûpa. Another mound, a little further to the east, had been excavated by some person for

[1] See Plate III for enlarged map of these ruins.
[2] See Plate IV for view of the Upadhaolia mounds.

the sake of the bricks and stones which it contained, and I found the foundations of a large square building exposed, which appeared to have been mostly composed of stone; and I believe it to have been a large square temple. The diameter of the mound of débris outside at foot was about 140 feet; but the diameter of the square building, of which the foundations were contained inside the mound, could not have been much more than 60 feet. Another mound of brick ruins, towards the *Gorra* river, looked like the remains of a stûpa. There were also a few other somewhat circular and round-topped or conical-shaped mounds, which looked very much like the remains of ruined stûpas of small sizes. Lastly, further east, on the very bank of the *Gorra* river, there was a long-shaped mound of ruins; and, again, some distance to the north-west, in the direction of *Dih Ghât*, there was an oblong-shaped mound.

The preceding are the mounds which lie between the *Gorra* and the *Rapti* rivers. On crossing the *Gorra* river eastwards, one at once lands upon the great long mound of ruins called *Updhaolia dih* or *Râjdhâni dih* (which latter is a general term applied to the whole series of ruins, and must, therefore, not be confounded with the mere village of *Râjdhâni*, situated two-thirds of a mile to the north-east). This great long mound, called *Updhaolia dih* or *Râjdhâni dih*, is situated along the left or eastern bank of the *Gorra* river. It is a long flat-topped mound, like a table-land, and is the site of the citadel of the ancient city. But there are several conspicuous elevated points upon it, which are the brick ruins of various detached buildings. This great mound is, as near as possible, almost exactly a mile in length, from north to south. Its breadth, from east to west, varies with the winding of the *Gorra* river, which runs along its west side. The outline of the west side is consequently somewhat irregular, but the outline of the east side is nearly straight. The breadth of the great mound at the north end, from east to west, is about 1,350 feet, or about a quarter of a mile. A very little further southwards the breadth increases to about 1,750 feet. Below that, about the middle of the great mound, the breadth

decreases again to about 1,580 feet, and below that, again, to about 1,500 feet. Close to the south of this, the river *Gorra* takes a bend to the westwards, and here the great mound becomes considerably wider, and the breadth here is increased to about half a mile. Lastly, at the southern end, the great mound has a breadth of about 2,100 feet. Thus, this great mound may be said to have a varying breadth of from about a quarter of a mile to one-third of a mile, up to half a mile, from east to west, with a length, from north to south, of about 1 mile!

The small village of *Updhaolia* is situated close to the north-eastern corner of the great mound; and there is an indigo factory at the northern edge of the great mound. A village called *Baswi* is situated on the south-western part of the mound, and a village called *Gunsara* is situated on the south-eastern part of the mound.

On the north-eastern corner of the great mound there is a somewhat circular-shaped round-topped mound of brick ruins, with a stone *lingam* on the top of it. I believe this mound to be the remains of a stûpa.

About 1,400 feet to the south of the above-mentioned stûpa-shaped mound, and on the eastern part of the great mound, there is a lowish sloping oblong-shaped mound of brick ruins; and attached to the southern end of this, there is a high cone of solid brick, which is about 29 feet in perpendicular height. It measured about 48 feet up the slope, and the diameter at base appeared to be about 80 feet. The top, or apex, of the cone had lost about four or five courses of bricks, so that the top was flat; but yet the diameter of the top of the cone was only about 3½ feet. The original perpendicular height of the cone would thus appear to have been about 30 feet. This cone of solid brick-work was composed of regular circular courses of bricks. From these facts I was at first inclined to identify this conical mass of brick with the famous "Ashes Stûpa" of the *City of the Moriyas*, which is said to have been 30 feet in height. But, on considering the matter afterwards, I was inclined to doubt whether this cone of solid brick-work might not,

perhaps, after all, turn out to be an ancient pyramidal temple, or the ruined pyramidal "*sikhar*," or spire, of a temple? And then, in that case, the lowish sloping oblong-shaped mound, attached to the north side of the foot of the cone, might turn out to contain the ruins of the porch or ante-chamber of the temple. On this tower mound I found two large stones, one of which looked like the cap stone either of the top of a stûpa or of a temple, and the other was a long stone with a hollow channelled groove running along it, showing that it must have been used for what the natives call a *nâb-dân*, or "a channelled stone for conveying water." I also saw a large square slab of stone which had been found on this mound.

Both this mound and the great cone of brick adjoining it were covered with trees and dense thorny jangal, mixed with bambus; and there were also some lofty palm trees, growing at the sides of the conical mound.

Close to the south of the great cone of solid brick-work, there are two other, somewhat lowish, circular-shaped round-topped mounds of ruins, having the form of inverted saucers and covered with jangal. Both of these mounds looked like the much diminished remains of old hemispherical stûpas.

Some distance to the west of the conical mound, and on the opposite side or western part of the Great *Dih*, there is a somewhat large and longish-shaped mound of brick ruins, covered with trees, and with some very tall palm trees standing near it. Some distance to the south of this, and on the Great *Dih*, and close to the north of the village of *Baswi*, there is a mound of brick ruins, which appeared to me like the ruined remains of some ancient stûpa; and, again, close to the north-west corner of the village of *Baswi*, there is a large mound of brick ruins; and I think this last might possibly be identifiable as the site of a stûpa built by *Asoka*, which is said to have been still 100 feet in height in the time of Hwen Thsang. Then, again, there is another mound of brick ruins situated a short distance to the east of

Baswi, and between the villages of *Baswi* and *Gunsara*. This mound had every appearance of being the remains of a ruined stûpa.

Lastly, to the south-east of the last-named mound, and to the south of the village of *Gunsara*, and at the south-eastern corner of the Great *Dih*, there is a ruined stûpa of solid brick, which is in a more perfect and entire condition than any of the other mounds, with the exception of the great cone previously described. This stûpa, at the south-eastern corner of the Great *Dih*, appeared to have been of the hemispherical form, and the circular courses of brick were still plainly visible. It appeared to be about 17 or 18 feet in perpendicular height when I saw it. It measured about 43 feet up the slope, from the foot to the centre of the top, and the diameter at base appeared to be about 75 feet. I think that this ruined stûpa might possibly be identifiable with the famous *Ashes Stûpa* of the *City of the Moriyas*,—that is, if the great cone of solid brick, further to the north, previously described, should turn out to be a pyramidal temple.

It must be remembered that the mounds which I have described are those which were in existence when I visited the place in the month of May 1876; but I fear that many of them may have been destroyed since then by the indigo planters at *Updhaolia* for the sake of the bricks.

The various mounds described above may be called the *Updhaoliya-Râjdhâni* group of mounds. But, besides the above, there are also some small mounds at some of the neighbouring villages to the south and east; and there are numerous traces of ruins in the jangal to the north-east.

To the east-south-east and south-east of the great mound of *Updhaolia Dih*, there is a long crooked-shaped lake called the *Aora Tâl* or *Piwara Tâl*, which appears to have been an ancient bed of the Gorra river, which must at some former period have flowed to the east of the Great *Dih*. The northern end of the lake, or a branch of the lake, takes a sudden turn round westwards, and runs up close to

the east side of the Great *Dih*, and close to the north-eastern corner of the village of *Gunsara*, and a *nálá* runs down from the *dih* to meet this branch of the lake. The lake becomes partly dry during the hot season. At the distance of about half a mile to the east of the Great *Dih*, a *nála*, or old dry river bed, runs down from the north, into the northern end of the *Aora Tál*. This *nála* appears to issue out of the *Gorra* river, about 1½ mile to the north, near a village called *Chakdah*, and passes close to the west side of the village called *Rájdháni*, which is situated at the distance of about two-thirds of a mile to the north-east of the Great *Dih*. *Rájdháni* is a small but ancient village, which is situated on the western part of a large flat-topped mound, which contains traces of ruins. This mound is about a quarter of a mile in length from north to south, by about the same from east to west. On the top of this mound, and close to the north-east of the village of *Rájdháni*, there is a smallish mound of brick ruins, which might possibly be the remains of a stûpa.

At the eastern side of the large flat-topped mound on which the village of *Rájdháni* is situated, a dense forest commences; and this forest extends eastwards to the *Pharénd* river, and it also extends for an unlimited distance to the north. There are traces of brick ruins every here and there in the forest to the north-east and east-north-east of the village of *Rájdháni*.

At the distance of about 1¼ mile to the north-east 7° east-north-east from the village of *Rájdháni*, and in the middle of a dense forest, and at the distance of about half a mile from the west bank of the *Pharénd* river, there is a large square fort, or brick enclosure, called *Sáhankot*, which measured 1,855 feet from east to west, by 1,300 feet from north to south. The wall of this enclosure still remained on the northern, southern, and western sides, and part of the north-eastern side, but the rest of the eastern side was open. There were square bastions on the northern and western sides of the wall. The thickness of the wall varied from about 3½ to 4 and 5 feet. The present height

of the ruined wall, when I saw it, was in some places 4 feet, in one place 5 feet and upwards, in another part from 6 to 10 feet, and in other places, where it was much ruined, it was not more than 3 feet. The gateway was at the south-western corner. In the north-western part of this great brick enclosure, there was a round-topped mound of ruins which looked very much like the remains of a stûpa; and to the south-east of this, also within the enclosure, I found the remains of an ancient temple, which measured 41 feet 6 inches from east to west, by 36 feet 9 inches from north to south.

Now, with regard to this great brick enclosure, called *Sâhankot*, I have called it a fort; but I think it may just as well have been a large religious establishment, or a great monastery; as a large monastery is mentioned by the Chinese traveller, which appears to have been situated to the north-east or east-north-east of the *City of the Moriyas*. It is very curious that this great brick enclosure should be called "*Sâhankot*," as well as the great fort near Rudrapur.

The distance from this great ruined brick enclosure at the *City of the Moriyas*, to the ruins of *Kusinagara* at Kasya, is about 24 miles direct, as measured on the map, the direction by the compass being east-north-east 3° north-east. Thus, it is evident that Fa-Hian's distance of "12 *yojans*" must have been a mistake for 12 *kos*, or 120 Chinese *li*. But if we take the *kos* to be equal to about 2¼ English miles, 12 *kos* would be equal to a travelling distance of about 27 miles, which is exactly the case.

Even now the route from *Râjdhâni* to *Kasya*, or *Kusinagara*, passes through a great deal of forest, at two different points, namely, the forest on the *Pharênd* river and the forest along the *Mânjhné* river; but in ancient times the forest must have extended the whole way, and, indeed, the forest remained intact and continuous until the country came into the possession of the British Government. In the forest on the *Pharênd* river, near the *Râjdhâni Sahankot*, there are still many wild animals, such as *nilgai*, deer, and leopards, and some say even tigers. A leopard was killed by the

Indigo Planter of *Updhaoliya* on the banks of the *Aora*, or *Piwara Tál*, after I visited the place. These circumstances agree with the account given by Hwen Thsang, who stated that he travelled from the *City of the Moriyas* to Kusinagara, in a north-easterly direction, for a long time, through a vast forest, full of wild bulls and wild elephants, and infested with brigands. The "brigands" mentioned by Hwen Thsang must certainly have been the *Doms*, who are still very numerous, and the greatest robbers in the Gorakhpur district; and the *Doms* appear, moreover, to have been the most ancient or aboriginal inhabitants of the Gorakhpur District. The Rajas or chiefs of the *Dom* nation were called "Dom Katar," just as the Rajas or chiefs of the Bhar nation are called Ráj Bhars. There are a number of places in the Gorakhpur district which commence with the word *Dom*, and which were named after the *Doms*; and among these is *Doman Garh*, near Gorakhpur. Mr. Crooke, Joint Magistrate of Gorakhpur, proposed to trace the descent of the *Romani*, or *Gypsies*, of Europe from the *Doms* of India.

7.—RUDRAPUR, AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

From *Rájdháni* I proceeded straight, southwards, to *Rudrapur*.

I have identified either *Rudrapur*,—or else some ruins situated near *Baraon* and *Samogar*, about 6 miles to the south of it,—with the large town mentioned by Hwen Thsang, where a hospitable Brahman lived who was devoted to *Buddhism*, and which was visited by *Hwen Thsang* on his way from *Kusinagara* to Banáras.

Hwen Thsang places this town at the distance of 200 *li*, or 33 miles, to the south-west from *Kusinagara*. It is well known that the site of *Kusinagara* has been identified with the ruins near *Kasya* and *Anrudhwa*, 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur. Now, the distance from *Kasya* to *Rudrapur* is 28 miles, in a straight line, in a

south-west direction, which is 5 miles less than the travelling distance given by Hwen Thsang; while, again, the distance from *Kasya* to the great ruined fort, called *Sâhankot*, or *Nath-nagar*, which lies about a mile to the north of *Rudrapur*, is only 27 miles.[1] There are, however, some ancient ruins, of considerable extent, about 6¼ miles to 6½ miles to the south of *Rudrapur*, near two places called *Baraon* and *Samogar*. Now, the distance from *Kasya* to *Baraon*, in a direct line, is about 32 miles, in a direction south-west-half-south-south-west; but the ruins of *Kusinagara* are situated at a distance of more than a mile to the south-west of *Kasya*, which reduces the distance to about 31 miles, and, therefore, the ruins at *Baraon* and *Samogar* agree better with the distance and position of the city mentioned by *Hwen Thsang*, as the old travelling distance by road from the ruins near *Kasya* to *Baraon* could not be less than 33 miles by the shortest route. Moreover, *Baraon* and *Samogar* lie upon a direct line drawn from *Kasya* to *Banâras,* for if we take a good distinct map of that part of the North-West Provinces of India, and draw a straight line with a ruler from *Kasya* to *Banâras*, it passes only 4 miles to the east of *Rudrapur,*—close to the west side of *Baraon*, and right through *Samogar,*—crossing the *Rapti* river at the regular *ghat* between *Samogar* and *Bairiya* (the "*Byreeah*" of the maps), whereas, on the other hand, *Khûkundo* and *Kahaon*, which General Cunningham proposed, are respectively 11 miles and 14 miles too far east, and totally out of the way of the straight line drawn from *Kasya* to *Banâras!* Now, the objections raised by General Cunningham against the identification of the *Rudrapur* ruins with the city of the Brahman, visited by *Hwen Thsang*, were as follows:—*Firstly*, that *Rudrapur* is not on the direct line from *Kasya* to *Banâras;* but I have already shown that *Rudrapur* lies only 4 miles to the west of a direct line drawn from *Kasya* to *Banâras;*—and that the ruins near *Baraon* and *Samogar* lie directly on

[1] See Map in Plate II for the position of *Rudrapur*.

the line, whereas *Khâkundo* and *Kahaon* lie respectively 11 miles and 14 miles too far to the east of the line. *Secondly*, General Cunningham says, that if *Hwen Thsang's* route had passed through *Rudrapur*, it would have entailed the passage of two rivers, namely, the *Rapti* as well as the *Ghagra;* but, from my own personal observation, I find that people, and especially the natives of India, do constantly and every day cross any two rivers by the regular ferries, in order to save or escape a round-about out-of-the way road, and a long journey. Now, it is quite possible, nay even probable, that *Hwen Thsang* may have wished expressly to go by way of the ancient city, situated (as I suppose) at the *Rudrapur Sâhankot*, for the very purpose of visiting the rich, influential, and hospitable *Brahman*, who was zealously devoted to the *Buddhist* religion! And if *Hwen Thsang* went purposely to the ancient city which was situated at the *Rudrapur Sâhankot*, he would most certainly not go out of his way by the *Mahili Ghat*, on the *Ghagra* river, in order to get to *Banâras*, but he would go by the usual and common route by which pilgrims from the neighbourhood of *Rudrapur* travelled to *Banâras*, and that is across the *Rapti* river, as I have ascertained for a fact by enquiries on the spot. Now, I made particular enquiries at *Rudrapur* as to the oldest and most commonly used route or routes by which people had been in the habit of travelling from *Rudrapur* to *Banâras*, both in ancient and in modern times; and I find that people never travelled from *Rudrapur* by way of the "*Mahili Ghat,*" on the *Ghagra* river, to *Banâras;* but that they always do travel, and have always, in old times, travelled, by way of the *Rapti* river:—that is, by way of two *ghats* on the *Rapti* river; namely, the "*Aswandpar Ghat*" on the *Rapti*, 7 miles to the south-west from *Rudrapur*, and by the "*Samogar-Belua Ghat,*" 7 miles to the south from *Rudrapur*. And I have been told by the people there that these two *Ghats*, on the *Rapti*, have always, from the most ancient times, been used by the people of *Rudrapur* and the neighbourhood in travelling to *Banâras*. Then, after having crossed the *Rapti*, they cross the *Ghagra* river by

the "*Barhal Ghat*," which is decidedly the best and most frequented *ghât* on the *Ghagra !*

It may be as well now to give a description of the ruins at *Rudrapur*. The ruins are situated mostly to the north, but also extend to the east and west, of the town of *Rudrapur*. The great Fort called "*Sâhankot*," at *Rudrapur*, must, however, not be confounded with the other "*Sâhankot*," much further north, at *Râjdhâni*, which I have already previously described. The *Rudrapur Sâhankot* is situated about three-quarters of a mile to the north of the town of *Rudrapur*. This great ancient fort is a quadrangle, of which the sides are not equal. According to my measurements I found the northern side to be 2,500 feet in length, the eastern side 2,300 feet, the southern side 2,200 feet, and the western side 2,015 feet. There is also a sort of separate outer and lower enclosure, or "*shaharpanah*," outside and to the south of the fort, which measured 2,300 feet from north to south, by 3,700 feet from east to west. This was probably some outer town inclosure. The ramparts of the great fort are very high and broad, and varied in height to from 15 to 25 feet, and at some points, when measured outside, perhaps even more.

On the low ground outside, and to the east of the fort, there is the temple of "*Dûdhnâth*," which did not appear to me to be very old, at least it must be much more modern than the mounds of ruins which surround it. The original temple of *Dûdhnâth* appears to have been a plain square stone building, without any ornament, but the lower part of it has been, at some comparatively recent period, encased within a modern closed-in brick veranda. The original square body of the inner temple is surmounted by a broad round-topped octagonal-sided dome, which has a sort of small cupola on the top of it. There is nothing inside the temple, except a small *lingam*. The temple is surrounded by a large walled-in court. Along the inner sides of this court or enclosure there are some three or four smaller modern shrines, which are surmounted by tall, tapering, pointed spires. There are several broken statues, of various divini-

ties, within the enclosure; but I could not find one single genuine *Buddhist* one, although I noticed one smallish naked squatting *Jain* figure.

There is no ancient "pyramidal temple" whatever now at *Rudrapur*, like that of *Buddh Gaya*, such as is said to have been described by Buchanan Hamilton in his "Eastern India." The temple of *Dúdhnáth* is the oldest temple now standing entire at *Rudrapur;* but, as I have before intimated, it is now surmounted by a broad dome, like a hemisphere, of which the outer surface has been flattened or pared off into eight sides. It is, of course, just possible that this dome may be a modern addition to the temple, and that the original square inner chamber of the temple may at some former period have been surmounted by a pyramidal spire, which has been destroyed; but although I made diligent enquiries about this matter, I could not obtain any information about any alteration of the kind having ever occurred. This might possibly be owing to the stupidity or obtuseness of some of the people of whom I made enquiries, and to the dislike or unwillingness of others to give me any information; but I do not think so.

There is a small modern temple to the east side of *Rudrapur*, which has a tall square tower, surmounted by a low pyramidal-shaped roof, the whole very much resembling the square tower of some small modern village church in Europe. But this temple is said to be quite modern. There are also several temples within the town of *Rudrapur*, but they are all said to be modern, and none of them are large or of any remarkable size, and I think I may say that none of them bear any resemblance to the ancient pyramidal temple at *Buddh Gaya!*

I did not explore the remains of the forest, a portion of which is still standing at the distance of about 3 miles to the north-east of *Rudrapur*, and which extends thence for some distance north-eastwards in the direction of *Deoriya;* but I could not hear of any ruins in that direction, and I do not suppose that the temple referred to by Buchanan Hamilton could be situated in that quarter.

I counted and visited about 25 detached or isolated mounds of ruins altogether round about *Rudrapur,* but I found nearly the whole of them to be the ruins of *Brahmanical lingam* temples, many of them with enormous black-stone *lingams* still standing embedded in the tops of them, while others had fallen down into excavations made by the zamindars, or other people, for the sake of obtaining stone and brick. Of the whole 25 detached mounds of ruins, there are only four that have even the outward appearance of ruined stûpa mounds; but of these four two are oblong or oval-shaped, and have huge *lingams* embedded in their tops, surrounded by the traces of the straight walls of a former temple. All the mounds which have been excavated from time to time by the zamindars or others for the sake of bricks or stone, have invariably turned out to be *lingam* temples. There is, however, a conical stûpa-shaped mound, at a village called *Amaoni*, about 2 miles to the north of *Rudrapur.* On the top of this conical mound there is an enormous black-stone *lingam,* which is encircled by three great rings of stone, the uppermost of which is an *argha.*

There is a large statue, apparently of *Vishnu,* about 10 feet in height, standing under a tree to the eastwards of *Rudrapur.*

The whole extent of all the ruins, taken together, may be about 2 miles from north to south, by from 1½ to 2 miles from east to west.

As notes, however rough, when taken on the spot, are generally dependable, I take the liberty of here quoting the following extracts from a letter written by me on the spot to General Cunningham, from my camp at Rudrapur, in the month of May 1876. I then wrote as follows concerning *Rudrapur* :—

"This is not the city of the Moriyas. This I believe to be the city, the "large city," mentioned by Hwen Thsang, in which a rich *Brahman* lived, who was devoted to Buddhism, and where there were a number of *Brahmanical* temples. Now, the whole place here

is surrounded by the ruins of numerous *Brahmanical* temples. But I am not sure of recognising one stûpa !

"I have counted and visited about twenty-five detached or isolated mounds of ruins altogether here; but of these twenty-five mounds, nearly the whole are the ruins of *Brahmanical lingam* temples, many of them with enormous *lingams* of black-stone still standing; and some of the *lingams* toppled over into excavations made by the zamindars (?). It would really seem as if some old Raja must have gone quite *lingam*-mad, and spent all his money in making huge black-stone *lingams!* And it is curious that this idea is supported by the popular traditions of the place; as the people say that an ancient Raja of the place took a fancy into his head to make as many *lingams* and temples of *Mahadeo* as he possibly could.

"Of the twenty-five detached or isolated mounds referred to above, there are only four that have even the outward appearance of ruined stûpas; and of these four two are oval or oblong-shaped (not circular), and have huge *lingams* on their tops.

"All the mounds which have been opened or excavated by the zamindars here, for the sake of bricks and stones, have invariably turned out to be *lingam* temples, with the square walls and pavements of temples, and containing great black-stone *lingams*.

"There are no statues of *Buddha* at all here now, unless we except one rather small sculpture in dark stone, leaning against the wall in one of the side shrines, at the temple of *Dûdhnâth*, and which represents a naked squatting divinity, with hands on lap, and the head like that of either a *Jain* or a *Buddhist* figure. Below, on the pedestal, there are either two leopards or two tigers (rampant), and between them (in the middle) a symbol * * * *"

(Here I gave a sketch of the figure in my letter).

The symbol referred to above was like the combination of a wheel or *chakra* and a *trisûl*, placed upon a pedestal showing three vertical lines. The whole thus bore a resemblance to the Buddhist symbol of *Sangha*.

I will now continue the quotation of the extracts from my letter :—

"There is also a large black statue of *Vishnu* (said to have been) found in a tank or *sagar*; (also) a sculpture of *Siva* and *Pârvati*; (also) a pretty large female figure, with breasts, broken, in lightish coloured stone; (also) the legs, and part of the body, broken, of a large statue in red sandstone, with thick legs, like a *Pahlawân*. This last large broken statue, in red sandstone (or some similar reddish

stone) has very thick clumsy legs, bent. It is said to have been found in the fort, along with several other fragments.

"No inscription at all, except three or four indistinct letters (apparently modern) on one fragment of a statue."

These letters read something like—

"*Sam.* 1560 (?) . . . . *tkaya*" (or "*kyata*," or *skaya*"?).

I may here add that, after the above had been written, I discovered the lower half of a broken statue (about one-fifth of life-size) in a sitting or squatting position, and apparently of some *Jain* divinity, on a high square-shaped mound, close to the west side of Rudrapur. On the pedestal of this broken statue I found a partly defaced inscription, of one line, in curious long-shaped, middle-aged, *Kutila* letters, with a date in very small numerals above it, which I read as "*1161*." The only portion of this inscription which was visible appeared to read somewhat as follows :—

"[*Deya?*] *dharmm* [*dyam* . . . . . *talvi?*, or *tulsi?*] *tdlú*, *astyamu chaturayam*."

I would propose to restore the reading of the above as follows :—

"*Deya dharmmáyam atal-vítálú astatyamú chaturayam.*"

This would almost seem to mean, "A pious gift [for the purpose that] the four (?) might be cast into the bottomless hell!" On the other hand, if, instead of "*atal-vítálú astayamú*," we read—"*Tulsi Tálú asteyamu*," it might mean, "A pious gift by *Tulsi Tálú* (Query, *Tulsi* the *Tárú?*) in honesty (or, in good faith,) for the *Four*.—(Query ?—for the "four" *Buddhas* ?, or the "four" doctrines ?, or the "four" quarters ?)

The first three or four words of the opening of this inscription are very much defaced, and in parts nearly obliterated, and it is scarcely possible to decipher them at all. But I think that the part "*Dharmma*" is sufficiently clear; and if, as I suppose, the inscription really commences with the words "*Deya dharmmáyam*," then this would prove that the broken half statue on the pedestal of which the

inscription exists, was a *Buddhist* one; that is, a sitting figure of *Buddha,* and not that of one of the *Jain* hierarchs.

I may also further remark that the word "*Tâlâ*" is perfectly clear and distinct, and if this should turn out to stand for *Târâ,* then it would be a circumstance of great interest indeed; for, in all the popular traditions of the *Gorakhpur* and *Basti* districts, the *Târâs* are connected with every ancient mound of ruins!

I took this broken statue away with me to *Gorakhpur,* and from thence I took it with me to *Kasya;* and after I had rebuilt the temple of the *Nirvana* at *Kusinagara,* I placed this broken statue from Rudrapur in the ante-room or entrance chamber of the temple of the *Nirvana.*

But I must here again once more resume the quotation of the extracts from my letter:—

"There is no 'pyramidal' temple, like that of *Buddh Gaya,* at (the *Rudrapur*) Sâhankot now, at all! If there ever was one, it must have been destroyed. Indeed, the native zamindars (or others) have literally destroyed everything and left nothing standing except the temple of *Dûdhnâth.* The temple of *Dûdhnâth* does not appear to be very old, at least not so old as the surrounding ruins. It is a plain, square, stone building, without any ornament, and encased within modern outer walls. It is surmounted by a broad rounded, octagonal-sided dome, with a sort of small cupola on top. The dome is white-washed, or chunamed (with white plaster) outside. There is only a small *lingam* in the temple."

[Here, in my letter, I gave a rough sketch of the temple, and also a rough sketch of one of the separate small modern side shrines, with tapering pointed spires, of which there are three or four within the wall of the outer enclosure which surrounds the temple.]

"The temple of *Dûdhnâth* is situated on low ground, close to the east of the fort, and just outside the eastern ditch of the fort.

"The ancient fort is very large, with high ramparts, composed of a mixture of earth and brick, or (perhaps, originally,) a brick core, encased in earthwork. Ramparts varying in height from 15 to 20 or 25 feet, or in some cases perhaps even 30 feet, if measured on the outside.

"The whole extent of all the ruins, taken together, including the northern and the southern mounds, the *Sâhankot* fort, the *Nathnagar* mounds, and the *Rudrapur* mounds, is about 2 miles from south to north, that is, from the town of *Rudrapur* to the village, and conical mound of *Amaoni*, by about 1½ mile to perhaps 1¾ mile in some places, from east to west, or from the most easterly of the ruined temple mounds to the *Mánjhné* river on the west. This would give a total circuit or circumference of nearly 8 miles."

Of the four particular mounds which I before mentioned as being the only ones at all likely to turn out to be ruined stûpas, one is situated at the short distance of 880 feet to the south-east, from the south-eastern angle of the fort, and at a still lesser distance to the south-south-east-half-south from the temple of *Dûdhnâth*. This mound measured 95 feet in diameter at base from east to west, by 75 feet in diameter at base from north to south. The slanting height of this mound up the slope on the east side was 50 feet, on the south side 45 feet, and on the west side 39 feet. This mound is surmounted at top by a rude, modern, square brick building, without any roof. Inside this there is a very large black-stone *lingam*, which is fixed into the most enormous square stone "*Argha*" that I ever saw.

The second of these mounds is situated at a short distance to the north-north-east from the fort. It is a lowish circular mound, about 95 feet in diameter at base, and about 6 feet in vertical height at the centre, above the level of the surrounding fields.

The third of these mounds is at the village of *Amaoni*, about 2 miles to the north from the town of *Rudrapur*. The *Amaoni* mound is a high conical-shaped mound of solid brick, on the sides of which the traces of some circular courses of brick-work may still be perceived. This mound measured about 50 feet in diameter at the base; and the slanting height up the incline of the slope, from the foot of the mound to the centre of the top, was about 54 feet on an average. On the top of this mound there is an enormous black-stone *lingam*, which is encircled by three great circular rings of stone, the uppermost one of which is an

"*argha*." At a distance this mound looks exactly like a ruined stûpa, surmounted by three stone umbrellas, or "tees."

The fourth of these particular mounds to which I have specially referred is situated about half a mile, or perhaps a little more, to the south-west from the fort. It is a lowish circular mound of brick, about 80 feet in horizontal diameter, at base. It has been dug into by some one at the centre, the excavation having left a cup-shaped hollow in the centre of the mound.

These four mounds which I have described in the preceding are the only mounds (out of twenty-five) which bear even the most distant outward resemblance to ruined stûpas. But in my opinion there is only one mound which really has the outward appearance of a ruined *stûpa*, and that is the conical mound at *Amaoni* (previously described), about 2 miles to the north of *Rudrapur*, or about a mile to the north of the fort.

Rudrapur is situated on the eastern bank of the *Mânjhné* river, that is, the bed of the *Mânjhné* river runs to the west side of *Rudrapur*. I learnt from inquiry that there had not been any wild forest, or *jangal*, on the west side of *Rudrapur*, and that there had never been any forest at all on the south side of the town. The former or old forest would, therefore, appear to have been confined solely to the land lying to the north and east of *Rudrapur*. Now, this is a circumstance which clearly militates against the possibility of *Rudrapur* being identifiable with the site of the *City of the Moriyas*, which was situated in the midst of a forest of *Nyagrodha* trees. It would appear that some years ago the ancient deserted fort, or the ground in its neighbourhood to the north of the fort, and to the east of the temple of *Dûdhnâth*, had become overgrown with scrubby *jangal*. But this was merely the consequence of neglect in comparatively recent times; and this growth of scrubby *jangal* did not form any part of the ancient forest at all! But even this scrubby growth of *jangal* had been cut down again some considerable time before I visited *Rudrapur* in 1876. Moreover, there

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are several artificially embanked ponds or tanks of water, besides numerous ruins of only middle-aged *Brahmanical lingam* temples, to the eastwards of *Rudrapur*, which show that the old forest could never have approached very near in that direction.

There is no forest at all now at *Rudrapur*, nor anywhere near the ruins. The nearest approach of the forest now is on the north-eastern side, where it commences at the distance of about 3 miles to the north-east of *Rudrapur*. But this forest is not composed of *Bar* trees, but it is a mixed *jangal*, containing trees of all sorts.

There is no forest on any other side of *Rudrapur*. But at the distance of about 5 miles to the north of *Rudrapur* a great forest begins to commence, which is entirely composed of *Bar* trees. This forest extends for about 3 miles northwards to an old place called *Mithabel;* but it extends much further north-westwards, in the direction of *Harpur, Dubaoli, Barhaira, Silhatha*, and *Râjdhâni ;* and this must, therefore, be the "*Nyagrodha* forest" mentioned by *Hwen Thsang*. But as this *Bar* forest originally extended to, and even beyond, *Râjdhâni* and *Updhaoliya*, and even now nearly meets or approaches within a very short distance of the *Râjdhâni* forest, while its southernmost border is fully 5 miles distant to the north of *Rudrapur*, it is plain that *Râjdhâni* has a better claim to be considered as situated in the *Bar* forest than *Rudrapur*, where the cultivation of the fields belonging to a large still thriving native town must always have kept the forest at a distance.

Mithabel may be said to be absolutely in the *Bar* forest.

8.—THE BANYAN FOREST AND MITHABEL.

I have already previously stated that my route from *Gorakhpur* to *Rudrapur* was along the usual road, along the east bank of the *Rapti* river, south-south-eastwards to *Barhei, Dih Ghât*, and *Updhaoliya* or *Râjdhâni*, and from thence on again south-south-eastwards to *Rudrapur*. But on my return route from *Rudrapur* I pursued a totally different route

straight northwards, through the great *Bar* forest to *Mithabel* and *Chaorâ-thâna*. This route lay to the east of the *Pharênd*, or *Puræn* river, and somewhat near to and parallel to the *Mânjhnê* river. By this means, having already previously cut across the country from the *Rapti* at *Dih Ghât*, north-eastwards, to the *Pharênd*, or *Puræn* river, I now cut the country through in an entirely new direction, forming the third side of a triangle. I beg to refer to that sheet of the Indian Atlas which embraces a map of the *Gorakhpur district*. It will be seen that at the distance of 4¼ miles to the north, or rather north-north-west-half-north, from *Rudrapur*, there is a village which is marked in the map as *Khundowlee* (properly *Khandaoli*). At one-third of a mile to the north of this village the boundary of the *Pargan-na Salimpur Majhaoli* terminates and parganna *Haveli* commences. It is exactly at this boundary that the great *Bar* forest commences, at the distance of about 5 miles to the north of *Rudrapur*. This *Bar* forest extends thence 3 miles northwards to *Mithabel*; but from below *Mithabel* it extends westwards for about 2½ miles or 3 miles, by way of *Harpur* and *Dubaoli*, to within a distance of about 1 mile from the junction of the *Pharēnd* and *Gorra* rivers, which is only 1½ mile to the south-east of *Updhaoliya dih*, so that the great *Bar* forest actually approaches within 2½ miles of the ruins near *Râjdhâni*, which I have identified with the "City of the *Moriyas* in the *Nyagrodha* Forest." And I have already previously stated that *Râjdhâni* itself is situated within the borders of another great forest, of mixed trees, which originally united with the *Bar* forest.

But if it be held that neither *Râjdhâni* nor *Rudrapur* can be identified with the "City of the *Moriyas*," because neither of these places is now situated actually in the midst of the *Bar* forest, then let us see if we can find any ancient ruins buried in the midst of the great *Bar* forest through which I passed. I would beg to direct attention to the ancient village of *Mithabel*, which is situated on a mound of ruins 7½ or 8 miles to the north of *Rudrapur*, and 5 miles to the south-east of *Râjdhâni*, and on the northern edge of the

Bar forest. This forest is wholly and entirely composed of *Bar* trees only, which in Sanskrit are called *Nyagrodha* or *Vata;* and this must, therefore, be the remains of the ancient *Nyagrodha* forest mentioned by *Hwen Thsang*, and also in the *Tibetan Dulva,* but which is erroneously called *Pippalawano* in the Ceylonese chronicles. It is on the northern or north-eastern edge of this *Bar* forest, as I have said, that the ancient village of *Mithabel* is situated on a mound of ruins. About 1 mile to the south of *Mithabel*, and in the middle of the *Bar* forest, I found a small temple, of apparently of comparatively modern age, containing two ancient statues of *Narayan* and *Lakhsmi*, which had evidently existed long before the present temple was built. Close to the back or west side of the small temple, here is a *bifid,* or double-topped mound of brick ruins, or, in other words, a mound of brick ruins which terminates in two high conical points, which appear like the ruins of twin stûpas. Again, about one-third or one-fourth of a mile to the north of the last, there are three or four more somewhat conical-shaped or dome-shaped mounds of brick ruins, which may possibly be the ruins of stûpas; and the ground all around is strewed with small fragments of brick for some distance. It is about one-fourth or one-third of a mile to the north-east of the last-named ruins that the village of *Mithabel* is situated, on a broad mound of ruins, which is probably the site of an ancient town. To the north side of *Mithabel* there is a large tank and a *Shiwâla*, or a temple of *Siva.*

9.—RUINS NEAR BHOPA.

Six miles to the north of *Mithabel* I came to the village of *Chaorâ*, where there is a *thâna*, and past which the high road from *Gorakhpur* to *Deoriya* runs. About half a mile to the north-west of *Chaorâ* and close to the north side of the road there is an old village called *Bhopa*, which is situated on a lowish or flattish mound of brick ruins, and many fragments of old brick are strewed about the southern side of the vil-

lage.[1] Immediately to the south of the road, exactly opposite to *Bhopa*, and about half a mile to the west of *Chaorá*, there are three high conical mounds of brick, which are evidently the ruins of stûpas. Again, about half a mile to the south-west of the last-named mounds, there is a considerably extensive mass of ruins, including also some high conical mounds of brick, in a grove of high trees and jangal. Close to the southward of these ruins there is a village where a Sikh lives who possesses a grant of land conferred upon him by Government for some act of gallantry. About 2 miles to the west-north-west from the last-named ruins, in the middle of a forest, and near the left or eastern bank of the *Pharēnd* or *Puræn* river, there is a smallish mound of ruins, on which there is a *Thâna* of *Devi*, called *Tarkulahi-ki-Devi-ki-Thân*, where a great fair or *mēla* is held every year.

I have thus given a full and particular description of the country and the forests between and along four different rivers, the *Rapti*, the *Gorra*, the *Pharénd* or *Puræn*, and the *Mânjhnê*.

10.—KUSINAGARA.

After leaving *Chaora* and *Bhopa* I went straight to *Gorakhpur*, where I remained from June to November. In the month of November I started for *Kasya*, and pitched my camp near the blackstone statue of *Buddha Bhikshu*, among the ruins of *Kusinagara*.[2]

This blackstone image has already been described in General Cunningham's Archæological Report of the years 1861-62; but as General Cunningham did not make any thorough excavations at the supposed site of *Kusinagara*, he was desirous that I should do so, in order to obtain some actual or more certain or conclusive proofs that this was really the site of *Kusinagara*, which up to that time could not be said to be absolutely certain. It will now, therefore,

[1] See Plate II for the position of Bhopa.

[2] For the position of Kusinagara, see Plate II.

be my business to give an account of my own operations on the site of *Kusinagara*.

Close to the east side of the black statue there was a low round-topped mound of brick ruins. I immediately set about excavating this mound, and discovered that it contained the base of a small square temple about 23 feet side exteriorly, and about 10 feet square interiorly, at the floor, or 12 feet interiorly at a little height above the floor. I found that the doorway had been on the east side; and against the inside of the western wall I found the remains of a brick pedestal, on which the great black statue had originally stood. On excavating round-about the walls outside, I found a large slab of black stone, with an inscription, lying near the wall on the south side of the doorway. This inscription was in the *Kutila* character, and probably of about the eleventh century. It commenced with the words "*Om namo Buddhâya, namo Buddhâya bhikshune.*" But I could not find any date, and many of the lines were broken and imperfect, and the ends of most of the lines and the lower right-hand corner of the inscription were entirely gone, owing to the shaling off of the stone, which was a kind of black slate.

After having completed this excavation as far as was necessary, I next proceeded to the great long mound of ruins to the north of it, called the "*Mâthâ Kuṅwar-kâ-Kot.*"

When I first saw this large mound, it had the appearance of a small isolated peaked hill, covered with dense jangal. In fact the jangal was so dense and totally impenetrable, and so thorny, that I found that I could not penetrate even a yard into it anywhere until I got a number of coolies to cut parts of the jangal down in places, and to cut paths through it.

On the eastern end of this mound (called the "*Mâthâ Kuṅwar-kâ-Kot*") there was a high pointed pile of brick, which I afterwards found to be the remnant of the core of the dome of a great stûpa; and at the base of this pile a very small portion of the outline of the circular neck of the stûpa could be discerned, owing to some former partial

excavations made by some former civil officer of the district. Close to the west side of this great mass of ruin there was a slight narrow depression, about 12 feet in width across; and again, immediately on the west side of that, the mound rose again, presenting a flattish top with an oblong outline. As it appeared to me likely to be the ruins of an oblong-shaped building, and as I was actually in search of the great Buddhist temple containing the famous colossal statue of the *Nirvâna* of *Buddha* mentioned by Hwen Thsang, it struck me that I might possibly have the good fortune here to hit upon some remains of the famous statue. I then ordered a shaft to be sunk perpendicularly downwards into the centre of this mound. After digging to the depth of about 10 feet, I came upon what appeared to be the upper part of the thigh of a colossal recumbent statue of stone, but which had apparently been repaired with plaster. I then hurried on the excavations, until I had uncovered the entire length of a colossal recumbent statue of Buddha, lying in a ruined chamber which was about 30 feet in length by nearly 12 feet in breadth. The statue was lying on a broken *singhâsan*. But I found that the statue itself was very much shattered and broken, and that many portions of it were entirely wanting or lost. The upper part of the left leg, and both feet, and the left hand, and a portion of the left arm, and a portion of the body about the waist, and a portion of the upper part of the head and face, were entirely gone; and a portion of the left arm, which had been broken and removed at some former period, had been replaced by stucco,[1] or brick covered with a coating of strong plaster. The right arm and hand were placed under the head; and the figure was reclining on its right side, with the face turned towards the west. The stone of which the statue was formed was sandstone of a mixed colour, mostly dark red and clay colour; probably from the *Chunâr* hills. The total length of the statue was about 20 feet; and the length of the pedestal, or *singhâsan*, was

[1] I afterwards found all the portions of the left arm, except a piece of the shoulders and the hand.

about 24 feet, breadth 5½ feet. The length of the temple chamber inside was 30 feet 8 inches, breadth nearly 12 feet. The thickness of the walls of the temple, on a level with the floor, was nearly 10 feet, and the dimensions of the temple exteriorly, along the foot of the walls outside, were about 47 feet 8 inches by 32 feet. But there was, besides, also an ante-chamber on the west side, which was about 35 feet 10 inches in length by about 15 feet in breadth outside, with walls about 5 feet thick; the dimensions of the interior being about 26 feet by 10 feet 6 inches.[1]

After I had fully completed the excavation of the whole temple, I next commenced to repair both the statue and the temple. When about to commence the repairs of the statue, I discovered that some fragments of the statue had been built in under it, into the *singhâsan*. I then had the greater portion of the statue lifted off from the *singhâsan* with great difficulty, and commenced to dig down into the *singhâsan* for the missing fragments of the statue. In this way I recovered a great many of the missing portions, and I found that many pieces were buried down under the *singhâsan*. The fragments which I found ranged in size from a few inches to several feet in bulk. I was thus enabled to restore most of the statue with its own fragments, but still several portions were wanting.

I also entirely repaired and restored the *singhâsan* or "throne." There were originally four low truncated pillars of stone (or stone posts), one at each corner of the *singhâsan*; but of these only two were found, and a small fragment of a third. The sides of the *singhâsan* had been formed of slabs of stone; but many of these were wanting, and not more than just enough to complete one side and one end were found. Affixed to the western side of the *singhâsan*, I found three sculptures, displaying three human figures, each carved in a shallow-curved niche cut into a solid block of stone. The left-hand figure was that of a woman with

[1] See Plates V and VI for Plan and Elevation of the Stûpa and Vihâra of the Nirvâna.

long hair, in a posture of grief, and stooping or crouching forwards, with her hands resting on the ground, and which I took to be a figure of *Yasodharâ*, the wife of *Buddha*. The right-hand figure might be that of either a male or a female, and was in a sitting position, with the head resting on the right hand, as if in sorrow. I took this to be a figure of *Râhula*, the son of *Buddha*. The central figure was that of a man sitting in a squatting position, with his back turned towards the spectator, and his face hidden from view and turned towards the great statue of the *Nirvâna*. On the lower part of the stone of this latter sculpture I was so fortunate as to find an inscription, in two lines, in characters of probably about the second century of the Christian era. My first reading of this inscription was as follows :—

Line 1.—"*Deya dharmoyam Mahá Viháre Swámino Haribalasya.*"
„ 2.—"*Pratimáincheyain ghatitádine sanghá* [or *Samá? Surena.*]"

This I at first proposed to translate as follows :—

"The religious gift to the great Vihâr of the Lord Haribal. The colossal statue (was presented) to the United First Assembly by Sura."

By the above I supposed that it was intended to say that the stone, with the small sculpture of the sitting figure of a man, was the pious gift to the *Great Vihâr* of a noble man named *Haribal;* but that the colossal statue of the *Nirvâna* of *Buddha* had been previously presented to the United First Assembly by *Sura*. Now, it is remarkable that a person called *Sura* was also the presenter of a lion-capital pillar to a *Vihâr* near the famous stûpas of *Bhilsa* and *Sanchi*,— at least I gather this from the copy of an inscription which General Cunningham was so kind as to send me, and which I read as follows :—

......"*Sundaré Viháre Swámino Sura Sinha baliputra rupyá......*"

In this inscription some of the words are lost; but I conceive it to mean that "*Swâmi Ṣura* presented a lion-whelp sculpture to the *Beautiful Vihâra*."

I have since, however, had reason to doubt my reading of one of the letters towards the latter part of the second line of the *Kusinagara* inscription. On the stone itself, after the compound *ghaṭitâdine,* there follows a letter which is broken and defaced, but from some traces of the top of the letter which remained, it appeared to me to have been an *s* (though it might just possibly have been an *n*). The next letter which follows is a little broken at its lower left-hand corner, but the upper and right-hand parts of the letter are perfectly clear and distinct. I at first took this letter to be a *gh*, but I now see very plainly that it much more resembles an *m*, with the *mâtra* stroke for the vowel *a* attached to the top of the right limb of the letter. The letter is evidently too long vertically and too narrow laterally for a *gh*, of the alphabetic system to which the characters of the inscription belong; for in the commencement of the compound *ghaṭitâdine*, the letter *gh* is low vertically and long-shaped laterally. Consequently, I would now be inclined to read the word which follows either as "*Samâ*" or as "*Namâ*." Thus, the whole of the second or lower line of the inscription might now be read as "*Prâtimâṁ cheyaṁ ghaṭitâdine samâ Ṣureṇa*,"—which might mean that the colossal statue was put together the first time, or at a prior period, by *Ṣura*. But if the doubtful word be read as *namâ* (meaning "reverence, salutation, adoration, or glory," &c.), it cannot refer to what precedes it, and it is difficult to conceive how it could refer to the following word *Ṣureṇa*, which is in the instrumental case, unless it means "adoration by *Ṣura!*"[1]

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. F. Fleet, of the Bombay Civil Service, Epigraphist to the Government of India, for the following text and translation of this inscription :—

Text.

1—"Dêya dharmo-yain mahâ-vihâra Swâmino Haribalasya."
2—"Pratimâ ch—êyain ghatitâ Dinê * * mâ (?) su [sva] rêna."

Translation.

"This is the meritorious gift of Haribala, the master of the Great Vihâra. And this image was fashioned by Dinê * * Sura [?]"

At the same time that I was repairing the statue, I also set about repairing the temple. When the ruins of the temple were first excavated, the ruined walls, when measured from outside, varied in height at various parts from 4 or 5 to 6, 7, 8, and in one place nearly 10 feet, measured from outside; but their height inside was of course much less. But the tops and a portion of the outer sides of the walls being in a broken, shaky, and bulged condition, many parts had to be taken down and rebuilt. I then next commenced to heighten the walls, and I raised them all to the height of 12 feet. The walls had a slope or batten; and the bricks outside, after every three courses, were built in for about 1½ inch with what the native masons called a "*khaska*."

The next thing was to roof in the temple. On clearing out the inside of the great inner chamber of the temple I discovered that, in the inner sides of what remained of the two opposite long front and back walls, and at the height of about from 3½ to 4 feet from the floor, there were still here and there a few bricks *in situ*, standing erect on their ends, in rows, all at the same line of level, and the inner edges of which had a very slight concave curve, with a slight slant inwards. There were also at first in a few places some pieces or flakes of thick strong plaster still adhering to the edges of a few of the erect bricks,—the smooth surface of the plaster having a concave curve, exactly following the curve or slant of the bricks,—just as would be the case on the inner sides of the arch of a vault. I also found, among the mass of *dêbris* which had fallen in, and with which the inside of the great chamber of the temple was filled, some large masses of strong plaster and brick adhering together, on the smooth sides of which the curved shape was plainly visible, which betokened that these fragments had belonged to the sides of the arch of a vault. It was evident, therefore, that the bricks in the inner sides of the walls, with slightly concavely curved edges, which were still standing on end *in situ*, in rows all in the same line of level, and all at the same height from the floor, were

the remains of the spring of the arch of a vault which had once spanned over, or covered in, the great chamber of the temple, probably somewhat in the manner of the pointed-arched vaulted roof of the great ancient temple at *Buddh Gaya*.

Now, in this case, *i.e.*, in this ruined temple of the *Nirvâna* at *Kusinagara*, from the line of curve or arc which the inwardly sloping edges of the erect bricks of the spring of the arch still standing *in situ* indicated, it became evident that the arch of the vault had been a pointed one; and I calculated that the original interior greatest height of the vault at the centre, where the two sides met above, at the keystone, must have been about 12½ or 13 feet. I consequently determined to build a pointed arched vault of 12 feet in vertical height.

In the sides of an opening in the centre of the northern end wall of the great inner chamber of the temple, I also found a few bricks, with curved edges, still standing on end *in situ*, which had evidently formed the spring of the arch, or the lower portion of the sides, of an arched window; and there had evidently been another window of the same kind at the other end. Again, in the ruined remains of the sides of the inner doorway leading into the great inner chamber of the temple, I also found several bricks with curved edges, belonging to the spring of an arch still standing on end *in situ*, and which showed that the doorway had had a pointed arch. Lastly, in the outer or front entrance chamber, there had also evidently been a small window at each end. I had thus a great vault and five arches to rebuild.

But in the inner doorway of the temple itself I made an interesting discovery. In two hollows, one on each side, at the lower part of the doorway, I found the ancient cup-shaped iron pivot hinges of the former doors; and with and adhering to the hinges I found some fragments of black charred wood, which showed that the doors had been destroyed by fire; and as numerous human bones and various charred substances were found in the outer chamber, as well as in

both doorways, it was evident that Buddhism had here been annihilated by fire and sword!

Besides the excavation and restoration of the temple and statue of the *Nirvâna*, other still more extensive excavations were carried on in various parts of the great mound of the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwar-kâ-Kot.* The greatest excavation of all was made in clearing and laying bare to its foundations the great ruined stûpa, the circular tower-shaped neck of which is situated close to the back or east side of the temple, or at the distance of about 13 feet to the east of the back of the temple. When first I arrived at the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwar*, the whole mound was covered with a dense thorny jangal; and towards the east end a compact mass of *dêbris* of broken brick and earth rose to the height of about 40 feet above the plain. Nothing in the shape of ruins was visible anywhere, except a high, pointed, rugged, perpendicular pile of brick, on the top of all, which I afterwards found was the remnant of a portion of the central core of the former dome of a great stûpa. At the foot of this pile, on the northern and southern sides, some slight excavations had been made by some former civil officers, which exposed on two sides a very small portion of the circular outline of the upper part of the round neck of the stûpa. But even this much had become completely hidden by *dêbris* and rubbish, and overgrown with thick tangled jangal. But everywhere else a solid mound of *dêbris* reached completely up to the foot of the ragged pinnacle of brick on the top.

The depth of the excavation which I myself made on the east side, in order to reach the original foundations of the base, or lower plinth, of the stûpa, was about 30 feet, and reached to below the level of the surrounding fields. The mass of earth and *dêbris* reached highest up on the east side of the mound of the ruined stûpa; for on that site the *dêbris*, which was a mixture of earth and loose bricks, reached up to the very foot of the bare ragged pile of brick which stood on the top of all. As I said before, this bare ragged pile of brick on the top of all proved to be all that remained of the core, or central masonry, of the dome of the stûpa, of which the

circular neck lay buried below. This ragged pile of brick on top of all measured about 23 feet in perpendicular height, but much of the brick-work of the lower part of the sides had been taken away, since General Cunningham first visited the place, by some person, for the purpose of erecting some building at some other place, so that only the inner end remained of the horizontal gallery which General Cunningham drove into this pile of brick.

This lofty bare ragged pile of brick stood upon a sloping mass of ruin, which might be about 6 feet more or less in perpendicular height. My excavations at the stûpa commenced at the surface, at the sides of the sloping mass of ruin on which the lofty bare pile of brick stood. I soon found that the sloping mass of ruin was simply the top of the great circular neck of the stûpa, the upper corners of the tops of the sides of which had been broken away in a slanting direction.

On excavating at the west side of the great circular neck, towards the back of the temple, I found a great sloping breach, which extended down with a slant to within only about 5 feet above the plinth, near the back of the temple. And from an examination of this breach it became evident to me that nearly the whole dome and a portion of the western side of the neck of the stûpa, must at some former period have slid down in a westerly direction, and fallen upon the temple. There was no such breach nor any trace of sliding on the northern, southern, or eastern sides of the great circular neck of the stûpa; and on excavating on these three other sides I found that the perpendicular sides of the circular neck of the stûpa still retained a height of from 12 to 18 feet, varying in height just according to the point at which measurement was made. After getting this circular neck made perfectly clear of *débris*, I found that it measured 180 feet in circumference, at the height of about 4 feet above the plinth.

I found that this great circular tower-shaped neck stood upon a square plinth, the east side of which measured about 85 feet in length; and the height of this plinth on

the south side was about 4 feet 2 inches, but on the north side I found it to be about 5 feet 6 inches. This square plinth projected horizontally beyond the base of the circular neck of the stûpa, to the distance of 13 feet on the northern and southern sides, but only 10 feet 6 inches on the eastern side. On the western side of the circular neck of the stûpa I found that the open space lying between it and the middle of the back wall of the ruined temple of the *Nirvâna*, was 13 feet; that is to say, the ruined temple of the *Nirvâna* is situated at the distance of 13 feet to the west of the circular neck of the stûpa; and the temple appeared to stand on the same level as the base of the circular neck of the stûpa, and on a western prolongation of the same plinth.

I next found that this plinth stood upon another lower plinth, or basement, the east side of which measured 92 feet in length, with a height (on the south side) of about 4 feet 6 inches from its foundation at the former level of the ground, which was below the present level of the surrounding fields. But on the northern side, where the other upper plinth is highest, the lower plinth, or basement, had a height of only about 4 feet at the highest part, it being in a ruined state, and the height still less at the north-eastern corner. This basement projects 3 feet 8 inches beyond the upper plinth, on the eastern and southern sides.

After adding up together all the different measurements of height which I have given, I found that on the southern side the total height of what remained of the stûpa, from its foundations at the base of the lower plinth to the summit of the ragged pile of brick on the top of all, was about 56 feet; while on the northern side the total height amounted to about 57 feet. At the eastern side, from one point where the deepest excavation was made, the total height amounted to nearly 58 feet. But this height was calculated from the actual original foundations of the building, which I found to lie at a lower level than the present level of the surrounding fields. But this lower level of the original foundations of course could not be guessed at by

any one who visited the spot at a former period, when the mass of ruins was simply a shapeless mound, covered by dense jangal. Yet, in the year 1862, General Cunningham estimated the total greatest height to be "58 feet above the plain," which was strangely near the actual truth, but a little in excess of it.

I was, however, afterwards obliged to clear off or diminish some part of the top of the upper ragged pile of ruin, in order to lessen the top weight, as it overhung or leaned slightly towards the temple, and I was afraid of its falling on it.

The circular tower or neck of the stûpa stands at the distance of only 13 feet to the east of the back wall of the temple.

The temple and the round-tower shaped neck of the stûpa really stand on one and the same plinth; for the plinth of the stûpa is carried on or continued westwards, as it continues to be visible along the northern and southern sides of the temple, and it terminates close to the west or front of the temple; and the temple thus in reality stands upon the same plinth as the circular tower or neck of the stûpa. The original total length of the grand plinth from east to west was thus probably about 150 feet; the breadth of the plinth at its base from north to south being about 92 feet.

But the temple which I repaired was not the original or most ancient temple, or at least not the only temple that had been built on the same site; for I discovered that the present temple, as I found it, was closely surrounded on three sides by the ruined remains of the base of another thick wall, which extended, from the front along the sides to within 6 feet of the back of the present temple, while it extended about 10 feet beyond the front of the present temple. The exterior outline of this low ruined wall presented a series of horizontal step-like *ins* and *outs*, the four corners being thus frittered off by a series of angular recessions. The dimensions of this outer building would appear to have been about 85 feet from north to south, by about 52 feet from east to west.

Besides the flight of steps leading up to the door of the present temple, I also discovered another lower and more

ancient flight of steps, running down from the west side of the great plinth, in front of the temple. These ancient steps were lower than, and about 10 feet distant to the west and in front of, the steps of the present temple; and as the top of the ancient steps commenced at the same level as the top of the plinth, on which the present temple stands, it is probable that the bottom of these ancient steps reached down to the same level as the foundation or base of the lower plinth.

Close adjoining to the east side of the base of the lower plinth of the stûpa, I excavated a row of small stûpas, five in number, and which were of various diameters, namely—8 feet 4 inches, 7 feet 8 inches, 9 feet, 6 feet, and 3 feet 10 inches. I also found another small stûpa, 6 feet in diameter, and in a very perfect condition, adjoining the south side of the basement of the plinth of the great stûpa; but in the course of my general excavations I found a numerous assemblage of very small brick stûpas scattered over the eastern half of the great mound.

At the north-east corner of the base of the lower plinth of the great stûpa, down at the very foundation of the building, and at lowest point or greatest depth reached in the excavations, I found a red *terra-cotta* figure of *Buddha*, standing, with his right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. The figure had lost the head; but I afterwards found the head among the earth, a short distance off. When the head was fixed on, I found that the whole height of the figure was 2 feet 2 inches.

In the excavation to the east of the great stûpa I found a metal bell, with a portion of a thin iron rod attached to it; and I also found a fragment of another bell, and three more iron rods to which bells had been attached. The inference which I drew from this was, that a row of bells had been attached to the rim of the stone umbrella which had surmounted the stûpa. I also found, in the same place, a four-armed figure of *Ganesh*, in dark greenish-blue stone, which measured 1 foot 8 inches in height. I should also mention that I found a small sitting figure of *Maya Devi*,

in dark greenish stone, embedded in the inside of the wall of the front ante-chamber of the temple. I also found the lower half of a small broken figure of *Vishnu* in the ruins of a building which I excavated on the south side of the great mound. I had all these sculptures carefully fixed inside the temple.

But the most interesting of the small sculptures which I found in the course of excavation were two fragments of the ornamental side stone or encircling stone and canopy of a small statue, which, from a portion of an inscription in the *Kutila* character still remaining on the back of one of the fragments, would appear to have been a statue of *Sâri-putra*, who was one of the most famous and respected of the disciples or followers of Buddha. The fragment contained only the right half of the inscription on the back of the stone, and which I propose to read as follows :—

(First line.)

"* * (*te*) *Sanyûvacha tesâm cha yo nirodhâ*

(End of second line.)

* * * "* * *Sangha Sâriputrasya.*"

The two fragments of sculpture referred to above evidently formed the top and a portion of the left side of the ornamental encircling stone, frame, or canopy of a small statue. The top piece displays a small sculpture of the *Nirvâna* of *Buddha*, 2½ inches in length. It shows *Buddha* lying on his right side on a couch, exactly as in the great statue in the temple. On the other fragment (which fitted on exactly to the bottom edge of the former one), there were two sculptures,—one which showed *Buddha* sitting cross-legged, and the other, below it, showing *Buddha* standing in the attitude of teaching; but the upper sitting figure had been broken off at the waist.

As the completion and submission of this Report has been delayed for some time, on account of my having been ill

with repeated attacks of fever, I may now state that in the following year succeeding, I made another excavation at the *Máthá-Kuṅwar-ká-Kot*, at *Kuinagara*, in which I found another smaller fragment of the right side of the right half of the same sculpture which I have just described above. But this fragment belonged to the upper part of the right side of the sculpture, above, or higher up than, the level of the inscription, the latter half only of which appeared on the reverse of only one of the two fragments previously found, and therefore this third fragment, afterwards found, unfortunately did not afford any portion of the lost left half or commencement of the inscription, of which one of the previously-found fragments gave only the right or terminal half on the back of the stone. This new or third fragment displayed, on its front face, a small sitting figure of *Buddha*, which exactly corresponded in counterpart to the other broken sitting figure on the other fragment of the opposite left front side previously found. (In case any confusion should appear from the preceding frequently different application of the terms "right" and "left," I may point out that what was the left side on the front ornamental or sculptured face of the stone, became the right side at the back of the stone, where the inscription was.)

In an upper section of another part of the same second or subsequent excavation, to the south side of the temple, I also found a sculpture about a foot in height, displaying a figure of Buddha sitting in meditation; it being almost an exact miniature resemblance of the great black statue of Buddha Bhikshu, mentioned previously at the commencement of this Report. At the back of the stone there was a very roughly engraved inscription in the *Kutila* character, which consisted simply of the Buddhist profession of belief, "*Ye dharmma hetu*," &c. But the surface of the back of the stone was very rough, and therefore it was not possible to get a clear impression of the inscription.

It seems to me to be very curious that in two instances inscriptions were engraved on the back of the stone of the sculptures!

This sitting figure of Buddha, just described, was actually found inside and in the centre of the base of a small brick votive stûpa.

In clearing away another hopelessly ruinous and dilapidated small brick votive stûpa, close by the former, I found in the same position inside it also, and in the centre of its base, another sculpture, in dark coloured stone, displaying a female figure. But this sculpture appeared to me to have been originally a fragment from the side of some much larger sculpture, and the female figure on it was probably originally one of the attendant figures at the side of some large statue.

This placing of religious sculptures, or small statues, inside small brick votive stûpas, was something new to me; and I thought this circumstance to be very curious and worthy of record.

But now to return again to the account of my first or original excavations. In a deep excavation in front of the temple of the *Nirvâna,* I found a small plate of copper, about 4½ inches in length by about an inch in width, with the Buddhist profession of belief inscribed on it in three lines, in characters of probably about the fifth century of the Christian era. I read the inscription as follows :—

"Ye dharmma hetu prabhavâ hetu teshâin Tathâgatâhya Vadata teshâncha yo nirodha evaṃ vâdi Mahâṣramaṇah."

At the back of the temple I also found upwards of twenty *terra-cotta* or burnt clay seals, with the Buddhist profession of faith impressed upon them in characters of a later period. The largest of these seals had also three stûpas represented on it in bold relief.

I also made a partial excavation on the central highest part of the mound, to the west-north-west of the temple; and I uncovered a portion of the walls of two sides of some large building, which appeared to have been probably a great monastery. And I also uncovered a portion of a pavement, and also a drain or water-channel of masonry, running through between two portions of the building. At the

north-eastern corner of this building I made a deep excavation, and uncovered the perpendicular side of the ancient wall, to the depth of 13 feet vertically; but even this point of depth which I reached was still at a considerable height above the level of the surrounding fields or plain; and therefore it is probable that the actual foundations of the building would be found at a still greater depth. But even 13 feet, the greatest depth which I reached at one point by excavation, displayed a considerable height of wall, and showed that the building must have been a lofty one. The greatest length of this building from south to north appeared to be about 120 or 126 feet; but the actual point at which the building terminated at the southern end was not well defined, and, therefore, somewhat doubtful, owing to the building being in a more broken and ruinous state at the southern end than at the northern end. The length of the building from east to west, as far as my excavation was carried, was only about 80 feet; but as the excavation at this side was only partial, or not complete, towards the west end, and was not carried to any terminal point, it is probable that this side of the building was equally as long as the other, namely, about 120 feet. In fact, I believe this building to have been a great equilateral quadrangle, with a court in the centre, surrounded by a series of chambers on all four sides. And I judge this from the fact that, while the length of the walls exteriorly was great, the breadth of the building inwardly, taken at any point, was only about 24 feet, which was probably the breadth of the chambers from the outside to the court inside. Now, if we suppose this building to have been a great quadrangle of about 120 feet each side, and containing a series of chambers, 24 feet in breadth, along the interior of its sides all round, this would leave an open court in the centre of about 72 feet square.

But as my excavations were made at only two outer sides of the building, it is, of course, as yet simply a conjecture on my part that there were other two outer sides, forming a great quadrangular enclosure. Yet from the extent and

depth of the walls which I ascertained, it is evident that this must have been a grand building of imposing dimensions; and I think its further complete excavation might be pursued with profit, and with the hope of making further important discoveries. The wall, 13 feet in perpendicular depth, which I excavated at the north-eastern corner of the building, was most beautifully and regularly built, and was in nearly a perfect state of preservation. The wall had a slight batter on the outside, the bricks being laid at intervals with slight recessions inwards, which native masons called a '*khaska*.'

I also discovered an ancient well at the depth of about 11 feet below the surface of the mound, and at the distance of about 60 feet to the west of the temple. I cleared out this well and repaired it, and built up the sides of it to a level with the present top surface of the mound. This ancient well was originally square below, terminating in a slightly circular shape above. But I built up my new addition at top in a square form. There is now good water in the well, and people draw water from it.

According to Hwen Thsang's account, there was also a lofty stone pillar standing near or close to either the temple or *vihâra*, or the great stûpa, of the *Nirvâna;* and on this pillar there was an inscription which recounted the circumstances of the *Nirvâna* of *Tathâgata* (Buddha). But as Hwen Thsang says that "*mais on n'y a pas écrit le jour ni le mois de cet evénement*" ("but they have not written there either the day or the month of this event,") the inscription could not have been of any historical value in settling the true date of the death of Buddha. I searched everywhere for this pillar in the course of my excavations, but I could not find any trace of it. But as my excavation to the south side of the great stûpa was somewhat less extensive than on the other sides, it is just barely possible that the pillar may still be lying buried under the earth and *débris* at some short distance off to the south of the great stûpa; but in that case the pillar must have been situated at a greater distance from the stûpa than would appear from the descrip-

tion of Hwen Thsang; for immediately after his description of the stûpa Hwen Thsang says that "*On a élevé en face une colonne en pierre,*" &c. ("they have raised a pillar of stone in the face thereof"); it is difficult to say what side Hwen Thsang meant by the face, but I can certify that no pillar could be found anywhere adjoining the stûpa.

I must now give a more particular account of the stûpa, and go into details respecting its structure and its style of architecture, along with some remarks as to its probable history, and the approximate date of the erection of the present stûpa, which, although it has lost its dome and is in a very ruinous state, must have been a reconstruction of middle age; and the upper, or indeed the greater, part of the circular tower-shaped neck cannot be older than the present Temple of the *Nirvâna*, which would appear to have been founded or reconstructed about the second century of the Christian era. The bricks of which the outside of the middle and upper part of the circular tower-shaped neck of the stûpa is built, are mostly of the same size as those of the temple, but vary somewhat in their dimensions; their length varying from 7½ inches to 8 inches, 8½ inches, 9 inches, 9¾ inches, and 10 inches, and their breadth varies from 6¼ inches to 6½ inches, while their thickness varies from 1¾ inches to 2 inches and 2¼ inches. But the dimensions of the bricks of the base of the circular neck of the stûpa are greater, namely, 14 inches in length, by 8 inches to 8¾ inches in breadth, and 2¼ inches in thickness. But at the very bottom of the base of the circular neck, where it meets the horizontal surface of the plinth on which it stands, there are a few still larger bricks, which are 1 foot 2 inches in length. But these larger-sized bricks at the base are all crumbling away with the weather, in consequence of their having been made of bad clay containing some saline substance.

Where the circular tower is broken at top, exposing the brick-work of the centre of its interior mass, I observed that the bricks were mostly of one of the larger sizes last mentioned, namely, about 14 inches in length. Bricks of this size,

but mixed with others of lesser size, are also to be found in the lofty ragged pile which stands on the top of the circular-neck.

But one of the strongest proofs that the present ruined stûpa is not the oldest or original stûpa that was built on this spot is, that where the interior of the mass of ruined masonry forming the broken upper surface of the round tower had become exposed, I found some ornamentally-carved or moulded bricks, embedded in the very heart of its interior mass, which showed that the circular neck of the stûpa had been rebuilt at some middle period, partly with old bricks which had belonged to some previous and older building; for the ornamental bricks, which had been carelessly built into and hidden in the interior of the mass, must originally have belonged to the *exterior* ornamentation of some other older building. Again, when, as I have previously stated, I had to cause a small portion of the summit of the lofty ragged pile of ruin which stands on the top of all, to be removed, in order to lessen the top weight and the danger of its falling, some huge bricks, ornamentally carved with beautiful devices, were found completely hidden in the very centre of the mass of masonry. Some of these huge bricks were carved or ornamented with floral devices only on one face, as if they had been intended to form an ornamental panelling on the exterior of some massive and much more ancient building; but others had the ornamental design continued round three sides also, and were shaped in such a form that they could only have been intended as ornamental projections to the exterior of some much more ancient building.

It is plain, therefore, from the facts which I have pointed out above, that the present ruined stûpa cannot possibly be the one which was built by *Aṣoka*; but, more than that, it cannot even be a secondary stûpa which was reconstructed upon the remains of the stûpa of *Aṣoka* after that became ruined; but I believe that the present ruined stûpa represents a third structure, which was reconstructed upon the same site, and upôn the ruined remains of two former successive structures; for, as I have stated before, the middle and upper part of the

exterior masonry of the circular neck of the stûpa is constructed of medium-sized bricks of middle age, and smaller than the bricks of the base. If, therefore, anything at all remained of the original stûpa of *Aṣoka,* it must be buried far down below underneath, or in the centre of the mass of the plinth or basement of the present stûpa, and below the level of the base of the circular neck. Moreover, the form and style of architecture of the present ruined stûpa evidently shows that it belongs to a later period, or the middle ages, when stûpas came to be built with a high circular tower-shaped neck, which was surmounted by a vertically elongated dome, shaped like the upper half of an ellipse, or like the upper half of an egg; the whole structure standing upon a high plinth, the elevation of which greatly exceeded those simple plinths of little, or very slight, or moderate, elevation on which the more ancient hemispherical stûpas stood.

In the other ancient ruined stûpa of *Râmabhâr,* which is situated at some distance to the eastwards, one finds huge square thick ancient bricks, which must be at least as old as the period of *Aṣoka,* if not older; some of the bricks in the *Râmabhâr* stûpa being 1 foot 4 inches square, by 4½ inches in thickness! Now, I believe that whatever relics of *Buddha* were enshrined at *Kusinagara* must have been enshrined in the other great ancient stûpa of *Râmabhâr,* which was erected on the spot where Buddha's body was burned. And, therefore, I believe that the stûpa at the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwâr-kâ-Kot* was simply a memorial building, erected on the spot where Buddha died, as a monument in commemoration of the *Nirvâna,* and if so, it would not be likely to contain any relics. But the other great ancient ruined stûpa at *Râmabhâr* has itself already been excavated from top to bottom by some former civil officer of the district; yet I was informed that no relic whatever was found in it; in fact I was told that nothing was found except a number of so-called seals of burnt clay or *terra-cotta.* Nor is it at all likely that any relics of *Buddha* would be found, as it is said that *Ajâtaṣâtru,* king of Magadha, removed all the relics of *Buddha* from a stûpa at *Kusinagara,* and took them away with him, in order

to be enshrined, along with other relics of Buddha, in another grand new stûpa in *Magadha*.

As, therefore, the stûpa at the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwar-kâ-Kot* is not a stûpa of the time of *Aṣoka*, and as, at any rate, all the relics of *Buddha*, which the original stûpa is supposed to have contained, were all taken away by king *Ajâtaṣatru* of Magadha, it would be utterly useless to make any excavation into the middle-aged stûpa at the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwar-kâ-Kot*; and I hope that this warning will deter any one from attempting it. Indeed, I earnestly hope that no one will ever attempt to excavate this stûpa; because, if the stûpa were excavated below, then the great tottering pile of brick which stands upon the top would most assuredly topple over and fall down upon the temple below, and destroy it! Besides, it appears to me to be a pity thus ruthlessly to injure or disfigure an ancient building without any sufficient reason, and without the hope of any satisfactory result. It is well known that from *Âfghânistân* to *Bihar*, or *Magadha*, numerous stûpas have been ruthlessly excavated, and thus irremediably ruined and destroyed, in many of which absolutely nothing has been found! It is true that the stûpa at the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwar-kâ-Kot* has lost its dome and is in a ruinous state; but the greater part of the circular neck of the stûpa, and the plinth, are still in a comparatively perfect and entire condition; and so much as still remains is interesting in an architectural and historical point of view; and, moreover, the ruined stûpa and the restored temple together form an interesting, characteristic, and historic *toute ensemble* which it would be really shameful to diminish, to disfigure, or to destroy!

There was once a mania for digging into the bowels of every stûpa that was known, and leaving them thus, in a hopelessly ruined and dilapidated condition, for the rain-water to collect inside and burst the building asunder! But I hope that this mania has exhausted itself and subsided; and I fervently trust that the aims and energies of the Archæological Survey will not any longer be directed to the injury, disfigurement or destruction of ancient historical buildings, but to their preservation, and, where practicable, to their repair!

With regard to the style of architecture in which the stûpa is built, I may state that there is some considerable variation observable in the structure of certain parts of the sides of the plinth, evidently owing to some alterations in the plan of design, probably in consequence of repairs at various periods.

Commencing at the original ground level on the south side, at the foot of the basement, there is a sloping projection composed of four or five bands of little angular gradations, each lower one projecting out beyond the upper one, like miniature steps; the whole reaching to a height of about 9 or 10 inches. Above that the masonry is plain and perpendicular for about 1 foot 4 inches in height. This is surmounted by a sloping capping of curved or bevelled bricks, which produce a receding convex curve inwards, with a slope upwardly of about 5 inches. Above that there is a straight band of about 2 inches in vertical breadth. Then there is a horizontal recession inwards of about 3 inches in depth. Above that the masonry is plain and perpendicular for about 1 foot 4 inches in height. This is succeeded by a horizontal row of rectangular projections, with plain spaces between; each projection being 5 inches in length horizontally, by 2½ inches vertically, and projecting 2 inches out of the wall; and each plain space or interval between every two of the projections being 9 inches. These projections support a band of ornamentally carved or moulded bricks, 2 inches in thickness; the ornamental pattern on the outer faces of these bricks being made up of raised parallel lines breaking bond, and giving a general appearance of a sort of chequered or zigzag pattern. This is surmounted by a curved band, projecting or overhanging above, formed of ornamentally carved or moulded bricks, with their outwardly curved or bevelled sides turned downwards and slanting upwards and outwards; each brick being 2 inches in vertical thickness and 7 inches in horizontal length; the ornamentation on the curved outer face of each brick being a rude representation of foliage spreading upwards with a curve from a central point below. These two last ornamental bands might be styled a cornice

and moulding. Above this there is a sort of straight entablature, which projects 2 inches beyond, outwardly, and is 4 inches in height. This is capped by an inwardly and upwardly sloping band of convexly curved or bevelled bricks, the slope of the curve upwards being 6 inches in breadth. This is surmounted by a narrow plain straight horizontal band 2 inches in vertical height, which forms the upper corner of the lower basement, flush with its upper surface. There is then a horizontal recession inwardly of 3 feet 8 inches, which is the amount of projection of the lower basement beyond the upper plinth.

The upper plinth commences, at its base, with a plain broad projecting band, rising perpendicularly 1 foot in height, and which projects 3 inches beyond the next band above it. Above this there is a straight band 2 inches in vertical width; and this is capped by a sloping band of curved or bevelled bricks, the convex curve upwards inwardly measuring 3½ inches. This is surmounted by a plain straight band, 2 inches in vertical width. Then there is a horizontal recession inwards for 2½ inches. From this point the masonry rises perpendicularly to the height of 2 feet 7 inches, where it at length reaches the top of the upper plinth. The top of the upper plinth (on the southern and northern sides) projects horizontally 13 feet beyond the base of the great circular tower-shaped neck of the stûpa.

The structure of the great circular neck of the stûpa, from its base upon the upper plinth, and thence upwards to the highest point of what now remains of its exterior masonry or outer casing, is as follows. It commences at base with a perpendicular rise of 1 foot 4 inches in height. This is surmounted by a sloping band of curved or bevelled bricks, forming a receding convex curve of 4 inches. From this last there rises a narrow perpendicular-sided band of 2½ inches in vertical breadth. The foregoing, so far, form the circular base of the neck. From this point the circular neck rises perpendicularly to the height of 5 feet 5 inches. This is surmounted by a receding convex curve of 4½ inches, sloping upwards. Above this bevelled off recession there is

a plain perpendicular-sided band of 3 inches in vertical breadth. This is surmounted by a semicircularly curved projection, 11 inches in vertical breadth, and which projects 3¾ inches beyond the lower band, and also beyond the next upper band. Above the last-mentioned semicircularly curved projection, there is a narrow perpendicular-sided band of 2 inches in vertical breadth. Then next, there is a recession of 1½ inches, from which rises a plain band 3¾ inches in vertical breadth. This last is surmounted by an ornamental band, 2 inches in vertical breadth, which projects 1½ inches beyond the former. This ornamental band is formed of a continuous horizontal series of drooping, or pendant, curved and pointed dentils. From and above the last there rises a band, 3 inches in breadth, curving outwards, upwardly, with a slight *cyma reversa* curve, and it projects about 2½ inches beyond the ornamental band below. This is surmounted by a plain band, 2¼ inches in vertical thickness, which projects 1¼ inches beyond the lower outwardly curving band. Above this there is a bevelled band, with a receding convex curve, inwards upwardly, of 3¼ inches; and above that there is another similar bevelled band, with a receding convex curve, of 3½ inches. From this point the circular tower rises perpendicularly to the height of 4½ feet; and from thence the masonry slopes upwards with a receding curve, which measured 2 feet along the curve. This last sloping cap was originally surmounted by a perpendicular-sided band, 5 inches in vertical height. From the last there rose, at intervals of 3 feet 4 inches, an intermittent series of short pilasters only 18 inches (or 1½ feet) in height, and of a peculiar shape; the base of each pilaster being a square of 7½ inches each side, from which rose a narrow neck, 3½ inches in height by 4 inches in width, which last was surmounted by a square top, of 7½ inches each side, composed of three bricks, each 2½ inches in thickness by 7½ inches in length; the square top of the pilaster being rounded or bevelled off, above and below, on the outer face.

It was, however, only on the south-south-eastern side of the great circular neck of the stûpa that any remains of even

a few of these pilasters were still left, when the stûpa was first excavated, and newly cleared of the superincumbent earth and *débris*. But the heavy rains, during every yearly succeeding rainy season, will very soon destroy, and are even now gradually demolishing and washing away, even the little that then remained of a few of these pilasters. (Indeed, the little that remained of them may, for anything I know, have already been swept away by the recent heavy rains.) But when I first uncovered the great circular tower-shaped neck of the stûpa, I observed the remains of not more than four of these pilasters at the south-south-eastern side only.

But these pilasters must of course originally have continued round the whole circumference of the stûpa, at this height (or at the height of about 16½ feet from the base of the circular neck). I calculated that the circumference of the stûpa at this height must have been about 158 feet; and that therefore it would have required about 40 of these pilasters, of 7½ inches each in width, with 40 interspaces, of 3 feet 4 inches each in width, to go round the above circumference.

Now, I believe that it must have been from the top of these pilasters that the dome of the stûpa originally began to spring or rise. If, therefore, the height of the dome was equal to, say, about three diameters of that part of the circular neck, then the dome must have been about 150 feet in height. If to this we add 18 feet for the original total height of the circular neck, and about 9 feet for the total height of both the plinths together, we shall then get an approximate total original height for the entire stûpa, of about 177 feet, which is somewhat below the estimate of *Hwen Thsang*; although, no doubt, if the stûpa was originally surmounted by the usual stone umbrella, it might bring the original height up to about 200 feet. But my own personal opinion is, that the stûpa never was anything like so high; and I think it is very probable that its total height really did not exceed 150 feet, altogether, at any time; because a greater height than that would have made the dome look like a sort of excessively elongated or spindle-shaped cone!

I expect that the series of short pilasters, round the upper part of the circular neck of the stûpa of the *Nirvâna* at Kusinagara may, when perfect, have somewhat resembled the pilasters on the stûpa at *Balar*, near the *Haro* river, to the north of *Taxila*, figured by General Cunningham in his Archæological Report of 1863-64, only that the pilasters on the *Balar* stûpa must be much higher, or longer vertically. I also think that the Kusinagara stûpa may, in part at least, have borne some sort of general resemblance to the ruined stûpa called *Jarasandha-ka-Baithak*, near Giryek, in Bihâr.

I previously intimated that the structure, or the style of architecture and ornamentation, of the sides of the plinth of the stûpa of the *Nirvâna*, at Kusinagara, varied, or was not the same, on all its sides. Now, the structure and ornamentation of at least the lower part of the western half of the northern side of the plinth or basement was apparently exactly the same as that of the southern side; but the eastern half of the northern side of the plinth is quite different, and built in a much plainer and ruder style, with very little attempt at any kind of ornamentation; and here, too, the lower basement is much lower, and slopes, or lessens in height, towards the north-eastern corner.; this corner of the upper plinth, too, being much ruined. And the masonry of the eastern half of the northern side of the plinth, moreover, does not join well on to the masonry of the western half; but there is a strong line of demarcation between the two, showing a sort of fault or break, or alteration in the style of masonry. Just at this middle point, where the two different styles of masonry meet, there are traces of the remains of an ancient flight of stairs, which apparently turned half-way down at right angles, and which probably originally led up to the top of the plinth, on the north side. At the back or east side of the traces of these stairs, and joining on to them, a long wall, 3 feet 3 inches in thickness, runs out, at right angles from the plinth, in a northerly direction, for a distance of 43 feet. I cannot imagine what can have been the purpose of this long wall, leading out to nothing, unless it was intended, at some later period, as a means of ascent,

by a long and gradual incline, up to the top of the plinth of the stûpa!

The style of the structure of the eastern side of the plinth is also different from, and much plainer than that of, the southern side; at least as regards the upper part or upper plinth. The lower part of the plinth or basement on the east side may perhaps have been, and very probably was, ornamented in the same manner as the lower part of the southern side; but the greater portion of the upper tiers of bricks have fallen off from the lower basement on the east side; and it would be just in these very upper tiers that the ornamental bands of brick would be found.

With regard to the western side of the plinth, in front of the temple, I only excavated the southern half of the west side (to the south of the steps leading up to the temple); but I found that this western side of the plinth showed signs of greater antiquity than any of the other sides, the bricks being of a large size (namely, 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 2½ inches in length, by 9 inches in breadth, and from 2 inches to 2½ inches in thickness), and the style of construction and ornamentation being different in the upper part. The plinth here is double, as elsewhere; it being also here composed of an upper part and a lower part or basement. The perpendicular face of the upper part has rectangular recesses or niches 2 feet 6 inches in longitudinal width, and 6 inches in depth, at an interval of about 7 feet between two. This intermediate interval of about 7 feet between two recesses of course thus forms a long rectangular projection; and at the middle of the projection there is a short ornamental pilaster, 2 feet 6 inches in height and about 1 foot in width or thickness. These ornamental pilasters belly out in the middle; they have a square base and a rounded bulging capital, the upper part being carved or moulded with a highly ornamental pattern, or with an imitation of foliage, or with embossed work.

The western upper plinth was originally 4 feet 10 inches in height, and the ancient lower plinth, or the basement below, originally projected horizontally about 5 or 6 feet beyond the upper plinth. But at some middle period the angle had

been filled up by a third intermediate projection of masonry, 3 feet in breadth or thickness and 1 foot 9 inches in height, resting upon the basement and against the face of the upper plinth; thus decreasing the height of the upper plinth to 3 feet 1 inch, and decreasing the breadth of the projection of the basement to 3 feet. The height of the basement is from 2 feet 10 inches to 3 feet. Thus, the total height of the plinth and basement together, on the west side, is about 7 feet 10 inches or 8 feet.

In front of the middle of the southern half of the western basement, and adjoining it so closely that it touches its face, there are the remains of an ancient stûpa (or a circular tower?), consisting of a circular base about 15 feet in diameter, but now only about 2½ in height. This circular base rests upon a pavement of brick, which lies at a depth of 8 feet below the top of the great plinth, on which both the temple and the great stûpa stand. This ancient pavement down below, in front or to the west of the south-west corner of the temple, extends for some distance, and will probably be found to extend the whole way along the foot of, and in front of, the west side of the basement. Whether the ancient circular base which rests on this pavement be that of one of the many stûpas mentioned by Hwen Thsang, I am not prepared to decide; but I rather suspect it must have been already covered with earth and the *débris* of ruined buildings in the time of Hwen Thsang; for it is over-ridden by a long wall, which runs from north to south right across its centre, and resting upon it, or rather upon a portion of the loose *débris*, which had accumulated over the top of the circular base. The wall which over-rides it belongs to a middle age; and the bricks of the wall are of a considerably smaller size than the bricks of the ancient circular base below, which are of the largest size. And, consequently, if the circular base be that of an ancient stûpa, the following succession of events must have occurred. First, the stûpa must have been demolished and levelled down to its base; secondly, the loose *débris* of surrounding ruined buildings, mixed with earth, must have, and had plainly, thereafter accumulated on the top of the circular

base, to a depth of more than a foot; thirdly, a long wall had been built across, on the top of the loose *débris;* fourthly, even this middle-aged wall was not discovered, until I broke through a still later tough pavement, formed of strong well-beaten lime mortar mixed with rubble brick, which rested on the top of the wall, and extended for some distance; fifthly, this strong upper pavement (which I may call a pavement of firmly kneaded and well-beaten concrete) was covered over, to a depth of about 6 to 8 feet, by earth and broken bricks, and all kinds of *débris;* and, lastly, upon the top of the whole there was a dense growth of thick tangled jangal, which then covered the whole surface of the great mound. The extreme age of the ancient circular base, buried at such a depth, can, therefore, well be imagined; and, consequently, I do not think that it can ever have been seen by Hwen Thsang! That is, most certainly not, if the ruined temple of the *Nirvâna* which I excavated is the same as the temple, or *vihâr*, which was seen by Hwen Thsang; for even the base or foundations of the walls of the temple lie at a height of about 8 feet above that ancient circular base, which was found buried in the depths below, under three distinctly different and successive stratifications of the ruins of the masonry work of as many different and successive periods.

In excavating a drain in the low ground, to let off the rain-water, to the north-east of the square basement of the great stûpa, I uncovered the circular base of a small stûpa, 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, at the distance of 13 feet 6 inches to the north-north-east from the foot of the north-eastern corner of the square basement of the great stûpa. This might possibly be the remains of one of the smallest of the lesser stûpas mentioned by Hwen Thsang.

I also made a sort of general superficial excavation of the surface of the detached mound which is situated at the distance of 45 or 50 feet to the east of the eastern side of the square basement of the great stûpa; that is, I simply first cut down all the scrubby jangal which covered the mound, and then I next had all the extraneous earth dug off from the surface of the mound. And I did this in order to discover, if possible

whether this mound contained the ruins of a stûpa or of some other building. About one-third up the side of the mound, commencing from its foot upwards, I came upon the edge of an apparently straight-sided brick platform, consisting at first of only two superimposed layers of brick resting upon earth. But above that, after a recession inwards, I came upon the edge of another layer of brick. And above that, after another short recession, I came upon the edge of a third layer: and so on, successively, to near the top of the mound, which culminated in what appeared to be a flat square of small diameter. But the edge of the successive layers of bricks being in a broken state, I could not be at all certain whether the external outline was absolutely the square, or consisted of more sides. But as the edge of each successive upper layer receded inwards from the edge of the layer next below it, the upper two-thirds of the mound had the appearance of a very low depressed ruined pyramid of brick, resting upon a square platform of brick, and the latter resting upon earth; for, stange to say, the brickwork did not appear to continue down to the level of the neighbouring fields or plain; but the lower part of the mound, equal to about one-third of its whole height, appeared to consist entirely of earth or clay!

This mound measured about 50 feet in diameter at base; and its original vertical height at the centre was about 16 feet.

I strongly suspect that the stone "pillar" or "column" mentioned by *Hwen Thsang* must have stood on the top of this detached eastern mound; and, supposing that the pillar may have fallen down and rolled down the east side of the mound on to the low ground below, I think that, perhaps, the pillar might still be found, by excavating a broad deep trench in the low ground close to the foot of the mound on the east side. There would not be any use whatever in excavating on any other side because I myself already made excavations in the low ground to the north, south, and west of the foot of the mound. But the low ground to the east side of this detached eastern mound has not yet been excavated.

On the southern edge of the great mound, or *dih*, and at the distance of about 150 feet southwards from the southern

end of the temple, there is a small circular-shaped round-topped mound, which I found to be about 25 feet in diameter at its base. Perhaps this mound may contain the ruins of one of the several lesser stûpas mentioned by Hwen Thsang; but up to the time of writing this Report, this small mound has not yet been excavated by me.

In General Cunningham's sketch map or plan of the ruins at Kusinagara, given with his Archæological Report of 1861-62, Plate XXVI, he marked down two small mounds with the letters "E" and "F," close to the north-east side of the great mound called the *Mâthâ-Kunwâr-kâ-Kot.* But these two mounds have since been swept away altogether. They have been levelled down and ploughed up by the neighbouring villagers. Again, General Cunningham marked down a small brick mound with the letter "D" at the south-eastern side of the great mound; but unless this can be identifiable with a small mound which I have previously described, it must also have been swept away since General Cunningham's time. Finally, in General Cunningham's sketch of the "*Stûpa* and *Mound of Ruins at Kasya*," Plate XXVII of his Report, he shows a long, somewhat lowish prolongation to the westwards of the great *mound* of the *Mâthâ-Kunwar-kâ-Kot*; and on this western prolongation he shows two large trees standing close together; but this western prolongation of the mound has since been entirely levelled down and ploughed up by the neighbouring villagers. In fact, the whole of the great mound has been very much encroached upon and diminished in size since General Cunningham visited the place. Indeed, when I myself cleared away some scrubby *jangal* from the foot of the mound at the northern, eastern, and south-eastern sides, in order to get space for throwing down the earth which was dug out of the excavations, the natives of the neighbouring villages immediately commenced levelling down and ploughing up the spaces which I had cleared, and they commenced digging out the bricks of many ancient foundations of buildings which had remained in the ground. I have also already previously mentioned that, before I visited the place, some Native had taken away an immense quantity of bricks from the sides

of the lofty pile which stands on the top of the great circular neck of the ancient stûpa, so that the lofty pile, having thus become narrowed below, was in danger of falling down.

But it is time that these destructive depredations should be put a stop to. Indeed, I may say that if I had not restored the great statue and rebuilt the temple of the *Nirvâna*, and placed men in charge to take care of it after I had uncovered all the ruined brick buildings by excavation, the ruins would by this time have been totally demolished by the villagers, and there would not have been one brick left upon another. I am still obliged to pay the wages of two men out of my own pocket in order to watch and guard the whole place.

In General Cunningham's description of the site of *Kusinagara* in his Archæological Report for 1861-62, at page 78, he says that "The mound called the Fort of *Matha Kuâr* is situated nearly 1,600 yards to the north-north-west of the ruined stûpa called *Râmabhâr*;" but there must be some accidental mistake as to the points of the compass in this statement; because, by repeated observations with the compass, I myself found that the great ruined stûpa of *Râmabhâr* was situated exactly only 10° to the south of east from the centre of the temple and stûpa of the *Nirvâna* on the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwar-kâ-Kot.*[1] Moreover, there is a huge *pipal* tree, of enormous size, called *Gaṭhâhwâ Bâbâ*, close to the south-east side of the village of *Jhungwâ*, and a straight line drawn from this great tree to and through the centre of the temple and stûpa of the *Nirvâna*, on the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwar-kâ-Kot*, would strike straight upon the centre of the great ruined stûpa of *Râmabhâr*,—the whole of these three points being situated exactly in one straight line drawn by the compass from 10° north of west to 10° south of east. The great tree before referred to borrows its name of *Gaṭhâhwâ Bâbâ* from that of an enormous *Python* which formerly inhabited the tree. I think that this immense and grand ancient *pipal* tree must have been formerly venerated by the Buddhists; and I think that it must have been purposely planted by the

[1] My bearing should have been printed W. N. W., which is much the same as Mr. Carlleyle's bearing.—A. C.

Buddhists at one end of a geometrical line which had the great *stûpa* of *Râmabhâr*, which marked the site of the cremation of Buddha's body at the other end, while the site of the *Nirvâna* of Buddha was situated near the centre of the line. I should state, however, that the points of the compass are given much more correctly in General Cunningham's sketch map or plan of the ruins of *Kusinagara;* and, therefore, the error in the letterpress is probably a mere accidental mistake.

The Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang mentions several other sacred sites among the ruins of *Kusinagara*, as for instance—

1. A stûpa built by *Aṣoka* near the site of the dwelling of *Chanda* or *Chûnda,* to the north-east of the gates of the city.
2. A stûpa which marked the spot where Buddha, in a former existence as a *Bodhisatwa,* had assumed the form of a *Francolin partridge,* and extinguished a conflagration of a forest. This stûpa was said to have been situated at a short distance from the *vihâra*, or temple, of the *Nirvâna.*
3. Somewhere not far from the preceding there was another stûpa which marked a spot where Buddha, in a former existence as a *Bodhisatwa,* had assumed the form of a *deer,* and had placed himself across a stream of water in order to save the life of a lame hare, but was himself so much injured by the exertion that he died.
4. To the west of the *Deer* stûpa, but close by it, there was a grand stûpa which marked a spot where the Brahman *Subhadra* attained *Nirvâna.*
5. A stupa which marked a spot where the princess *Mahamaya* (?), or rather *Yaṣodhra,* had mourned for Buddha.
6. A stûpa built by *Aṣoka* on the spot where eight kings divided the relics of Buddha; and a second stone pillar on which there was an inscription recording the division of the relics.

* * * * *

7. A (small) stûpa built upon a spot where Buddha had showed his feet.

Hwen Thsang also mentions several other sites of minor importance, which it is not at all necessary for me to notice here.

Of the various traditional or historical sites above enumerated, I cannot say that I am able to identify a single one with any approach to certainty; for all the lesser detached or isolated or outlying ruined sites or mounds have been gradually demolished, levelled down, and ploughed up by the Natives of the neighbouring villages.

Of the other stûpas mentioned by Hwen Thsang, the largest appears to have been the stûpa which marked the spot where the Brahman *Subhadra* had attained *Nirvâna;* but, with the exception of the great stûpa of *Râmabhâr,* and the stûpa of the *Nirvâna* on the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwar-ka-Kot*, I could not find any traces whatever of any other large stûpa anywhere in or near the locality which embraces the site of the ancient city of *Kusinagara.* Hwen Thsang places the stûpa of *Subhadra* somewhere to the "west;" but it does not appear quite clear whether he meant to the west of the *Deer* stûpa, or to the west of the city, or to the west of the *vihâra* of the *Nirvâna;* but, supposing that he may, perhaps, have meant to the west of the city, which latter may safely be identified with the village of *Anirudhwâ* and a mound of ruins near it, then I may point out that at the distance of about 2,000 feet, 18° north of west from the village of *Anirudhwâ,* there is a large mound of considerable elevation, which rises right out of the middle of the channel of the *Khanuâ Nâlâ,* which here splits into two channels at the western end of the mound, but the two channels unite again at the eastern end of the mound. This mound is 180 feet in length from east to west, by 19 feet in breadth from north to south. The mound is covered with jangal, and on the top of the mound there are some tall trees, and between two trees which stand close together there is the grave of a *Naṭ,* and hence the place is called *Naṭ-ka-Thân,* by which name also the mound is generally

distinguished by the common people. This mound is situated at the distance of 960 feet, 20° to the west of south, from the great black statue of *Buddhâ Bhikshu;* and the mound is situated at the distance of 1,800 feet, 29° west of south, from the temple of the *Nirvâna* on the *Mâthâ-Kuṅwar-kâ-Kot*. Lastly, the mound in the *Khanuâ Nâlâ* is situated at the distance of 2,750 feet, due west, from a large square mound of ruins which lies close to the north-east of the village of *Anirudhwâ*. I think, therefore, that the large mound on the *Khanuâ Nâlâ* might be identified as the site of the large stûpa of the Brahman *Subhadra*.

About 100 feet to the north-east of this large mound, and on the eastern or left bank of the *Khanuâ Nâlâ,* there is a small round-topped mound, covered with green grass, which might, perhaps, be identifiable as the site of the stûpa which marked the spot where it is fabled that Buddha, in a former existence as a *Bodhisatwa,* had assumed the form of a *deer*, and had placed himself across a stream of water in order to save the life of a lame hare, but was himself so much injured by the exertion that he died; for the large mound in the bed of the *Khanuâ Nâlâ* is situated quite near to, and to the south-west from, this smaller mound, which agrees with the apparent statement of Hwen Thsang that the grand stûpa of *Subhadra* was situated to the west of and close by the *Deer stûpa.*

With regard to the stûpa built by *Aṣoka*, and the second stone pillar, both of which marked the spot where the relics of Buddha were divided by eight kings, I am at a loss to conjecture where they were located; but I imagine that they may have been situated somewhere near the great ruined stûpa of *Râmabhâr*, which probably marks the spot where the cremation of Buddha's body took place. But as Hwen Thsang states that this second pillar bore an inscription, it ought most certainly to be searched for by excavation in the low sloping ground which surrounds the foot of the great ruined stûpa of *Râmabhâr*. This great ruined stûpa is certainly of great antiquity, and must be at least as old as the time of *Aṣoka*, judging by the great size and thickness of the

huge square bricks of which it is built. It might, therefore, otherwise just possibly be identifiable with the "stûpa built by *Aṣoka* on the spot where the eight kings divided the relics of Buddha into eight portions." But then, in that case, where are we to place the site of the "Cremation Stûpa"? Now, it appears to me evident, from the account we have of the obsequies of Buddha, that the funeral pyre was erected at the Coronation Hall of the *Mallians*. General Cunningham records this fact without any comment or remark, for he says in his Report (page 83) that "Accordingly, the corpse was borne by the eight *Mallian* Chieftains, on a bier formed of their lances, through the northern gate to the centre of the town, and then through the eastern gate to the Coronation Hall of the *Mallians*, where the funeral pile had been prepared." Now, it is specially stated in the Buddhist chronicles that the palace of the *Mallian* Kings was situated in the very centre of the city of *Kusinagara*; and I suppose that the Coronation Hall must have been situated near the palace; and General Cunningham has identified the site of the palace of the *Mallian* Kings with a square-shaped mound of ruins close to and to the north-east of the village of *Anirudhwâ*. (At page 79 of his Report, General Cunningham writes "north-west" by mistake, or by a slip of the pen, but the real direction is north-east, and in General Cunningham's own sketch map the mound is correctly placed close to the north-east of the village of *Anirudhwâ*.) Consequently, the stûpa which was erected on the exact spot which had been occupied by the funeral pile, or where Buddha's body was burned, at the Coronation Hall of the *Mallian* Kings, must have been situated close to this mound, and, therefore, it could not have been situated where the great *Râmabhâr* stûpa is, on the edge of the *Râmabhâr jhil* or lake. Now, in my own previous description of the square-shaped mound of ruins which is situated close to the north-east of the village of *Anirudhwâ*, I mentioned that, at the distance of 175 feet to the north-east of this mound, there was a small low sloping round-topped mound, about 50 feet in diameter, with a large tree growing on the top of it. And I am, therefore, inclined to think that

this small low mound probably marks the real spot where the Cremation Stûpa once stood!

This question forms the most puzzling and difficult part of the whole investigation,—more especially when we find that it is probable that we shall also have to look in the same direction and locality for the traces of another stûpa built by *Aṣoka*, near the site of the old house of *Chanda* or *Chûnda*, which was situated somewhere to the north-east of the gates of the city!

At the south-eastern foot of the great ruined stûpa of *Râmabhâr*, General Cunningham discovered the remains of a small stûpa which he estimated to have been 16⅔ feet in diameter. As the bricks of which it was composed were 5 inches in thickness, this stûpa must have been very ancient, and probably of the time of *Aṣoka;* and it might possibly be identifiable with the stûpa which marked the spot where the eight Kings divided the relics of Buddha.

The only site of any particular importance which still remains to be identified is that of the palace of the *Mallian* nobles, which is said to have been situated in the centre of the city of *Kusinagara.* There can be no doubt that the principal portion of the city must have been situated where the village of *Anirudhwâ* now is, on the left or east bank of the *Khannâ Nâlâ.* The village of *Anirudhwâ* itself is situated on a low mound of irregular shape, which is mainly composed of the *débris* of ruins; and I have been told by several inhabitants of the village that wherever the ground on which the village is situated has been dug into at any time for any purpose, they have always come upon old bricks and the ruined foundations of ancient buildings. But at a short distance to the north-east of the village of *Anirudhwâ* there is a large square-sided mound of ruins, of moderate elevation. In General Cunningham's sketch map or plan he places this square mound of ruins at the distance of about 500 feet to the north-east of the village of *Anirudhwâ;* and he states in his Report that the mound is about 500 feet square. But I myself measured the distance of this mound of ruins from *Anirudhwâ* on the spot, and I found the distance to be

upwards of 800 feet; and I also measured the mound itself along its four sides, and I found the dimensions to be much less than General Cunningham's estimate. I found that the eastern and western sides of the mound each measured about 170 feet in length, while the northern and southern sides of the mound each measured about 115 feet in length. The mound is highest along the northern and southern sides, but it is low at the middle of the eastern and western sides, and in the centre. The whole mound appears to be composed of brick ruins covered by a mixed *débris* of broken brick and earth. There is a well (said to be old) in the northern edge of the ruins. At a distance of about 170 feet to the north-east of this large square mound, there is a small gradually sloping round-shaped mound, containing traces of broken bricks, and having a large tree growing on the top of it.

With regard to the difference between my measurements of the large square mound and the dimensions given by General Cunningham, I can only suppose that parts of the western and southern sides of the mound have been demolished and levelled down and ploughed up by the villagers, since General Cunningham visited the place.

At the distance of about 1,400 feet westwards from the village of *Anirudhwâ*, and on the right or west bank of the *Khanuâ Nâlâ*, there is a small village called *Râmnagar*, where a fair or bazâr is held once a week. This small village is situated on a low mound, which may perhaps contain ruins.

Three thousand feet to the north-east from the Temple of the *Nirvâna*, or the *Mâthâ Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot*, there is an ancient tank called the *Kusmi Pokharâ*, which I think must have belonged to, and existed coevally with, the ancient city of *Kusinagara*; and I think that this name of *Kusmi*, as applied to the tank, must be etymologically connected with the name of *Kusinagara*. On the other hand, I do not think that the name of the village of *Kasya* is connected with the name of *Kusinagara* at all; but, on the contrary, I think it is just possible that the name of *Kasya* might be connected with that of *Mahâ Kasyapa*, who was the chief disciple of Buddha, and

who ignited the funeral pile of Buddha at *Kusinagara*—much in the same manner as the village of *Anirudwhâ* was probably named after *Aniruddhâ*, another disciple of Buddha. But at the same time I may remark that there is another village, called *Kasya* (the *Kuseea* of the maps), about 8¼ miles or 9 miles to the north-north-east.

Close to the south side of the *Kusmi Pokharâ*, there is a small village called *Binaoliya* or *Binwaliya*; but which is marked in General Cunningham's plan as a *Talâ* belonging to the *Mauza* of *Bishenpur*. Close to the south of this village there is a low, broad-shaped, round-topped mound.

On the plain lying between the *Mâthâ Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot* and the *Kusmi Pokharâ*, and also on the plain lying between the *Mâthâ Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot* and the great ruined stûpa of *Râmabhâr*, there are a number of small, low, round-topped mounds or *barrows*, covered with short green grass. These mounds are called *Bhimawat* by the Native people of the neighbouring villages. I counted nearly fifty of these small mounds, or *barrows*, altogether. They are probably sepulchral. I only excavated two of these small *barrows*, and I could not find anything in them, except a small quantity of a pale whitish-coloured powdery substance resembling bone ash, and a few minute black or dark-coloured particles resembling charcoal. But I did not find even this little until I dug down into the centre of the base of the mounds below the level of the surrounding plain.

With regard to the extent of the ancient city of *Kusinagara*, my idea is that the city was divided into two different and separate portions, namely—

1.—The city proper or secular city, and

2.—An outer city, which might be called the monastic or religious city.

1.—*The city proper or secular city, inhabited by the nobles, the military class, the traders, the artisans, and the labourers, and containing the palace of the Mallian nobles.*—I consider this portion of the city proper to have been situated to the south-east, and to have commenced at a point

about 1,500 feet to the east of the village of *Anirudhwá*, and to have extended thence in a west-north-westerly direction for a total distance of about 3,000 feet to a point about 1,000 feet to the west-north-west of the village of *Anirudhwá*. This would give a total length to the ancient city proper of about 3,000 feet from east to west. The breadth of the city from south to north I suppose to have been about from 1,500 to 1,700 or 1,800 feet at the broadest part, which I calculate from a point about 800 feet to the south-south-east of the village of *Anirudhwá*, to another point about 900 feet to the north-north-east of the village of *Anirudhwá*. The broadest part of the city, from south to north, lay between these two above-mentioned points, but the site of the city was narrower at the western end and broader at the eastern end. This would give an oblong or rather oval-shaped figure, having a total circumference of about 9,500 or 9,600 feet, or a little less than 1⅞ mile. This is about a quarter of a mile less than the estimate of Hwen Thsang, who says that the site of the ancient city had a circuit of about 12 Chinese *li*, which is equivalent to about 2 English miles.

It is, however, possible that Hwen Thsang may have included in his estimate the additional space occupied by the outer portion of the city, to the north-west, which contained the religious establishments. And this brings me now, therefore, to—

2.—*The outer city, or the contingent appendage to the city which contained the Buddhist monasteries, viháras, and temples.*—This portion must, of course, have been situated to the north-west, as it included the *vihára*, or tempie, of the *Nirvána*, which was situated to the north-west of the city proper, just as we now find that the temple of the *Nirvána* is situated to the north-west of the village of *Anirudhwá*. I found sufficient vestiges of an ancient boundary line, marked out either by an elevated edge from which the ground sloped down, or in some places by small fragments of brick following a particular raised ridge-like line, to enable me to trace out the ancient boundaries of this portion of the city, which might be called the sacred, or religious, or monastic city of

Kusinagara. Indeed, I found that the boundary line was still quite distinct to the west and south-west, and also on the north side, as soon as I came to look for it. But everywhere else it had become so much obliterated that it was with great difficulty that it could be followed out. It appeared to me, however, that this area had had a circumference of about 5,200 feet, or about 1,100 feet from east to west by about 1,500 feet from north to south. This would give an area of a little more than 50 bighâs. This land evidently must have belonged to the monastic establishment attached to the Temple of the *Nirvâna*, or to what is now called the *Mâthâ-Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot;* and it is still called the Mauza of the *Mâth Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot.*

The mass of ruins now called the *Mâthâ Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot* is situated within the old boundaries of the above-mentioned area, but a little to the north-east of the centre of the area. From the west-north-western end of the great mound of the *Mâthâ-Kuṇwar-ka-Kot*, the old boundary line lies at the distance of about 560 feet, and from the south-south-western side it lies at the distance of about 600 feet. On the northern and eastern sides the boundary line lies at an irregular distance from the great mound, as the distance on these two sides varies, according to the greater or nearer proximity and windings of a water channel called the "*Râkshâhwa Chawar,*" which passes to the north and north-east and east of the great mound of ruins. But there are some slightly elevated lines containing traces of brick which lie at the varying distances of from 300 to 400 and 500 feet to the north-north-east and east of the great mound of ruins. To the south-east the boundary line is broken by an old inundation channel which at this point is called the "*Khari*" or "*Khadi*" (meaning "a gulf"), which separates the area of the *Nirvâna*, or the land or *Mauza* belonging to the *Mâthâ-Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot* from the area of the ancient city proper near *Anirudhwa.*

I previously remarked that the old boundary line of the land belonging to the monastic establishments of the *Nirvâna* was still quite distinct to the west and south-west. At

the distance of 560 feet west, 10° north, from the west-north-western end of the great mound of the *Mâthâ-Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot*, this boundary line may be seen most distinctly, as a slightly raised edge containing fragments of brick. From this point the line runs south 27° west for 187 feet; from thence, again, the line runs south 26° west for 400 feet. The line then meets an old water channel, and runs along it for about 40 feet in a west-north-westerly direction. From thence it turns again in a southerly direction, and runs for about 130 feet south 15° west, and then it runs for 43 feet south 23° west. From this point the line turns eastwards and runs for about 600 feet east 27° south. Beyond this point the line is not traceable to the south-east, on account of the encroachments of an old water channel; but it may provisionally be carried along the edge or bank of the old water channel, until it meets some actual traces of the old boundary to the east.

11.—OLD RIVER CHANNELS.

I have now to say something about the various and numerous old river channels at *Kusinagara*. These old channels are mostly called "*Chawar*" by the natives of the neighbourhood. General Cunningham mentions four of these old channels in his report and sketch map, namely—the "*Khanuâ nâlâ*," the "*Lambuhi Chawar*," the "*Lambuha Chawar*," and the "*Rohâ nâlâ*." But he omits another old channel called the "*Rakshâhwa Chawar*," which runs close to the north and north-east of the great mound of the *Mâthâ Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot*. With regard to the water channel which he calls the *Rohâ nâlâ*,—the name which General Cunningham gives to the largest channel to the east, which comes from the north and feeds the Lake or Jhil of *Râmabhâr*,—I can only say that I made repeated enquiries about the name of this water channel, and that I could not hear anything about such a name as "*Rohâ*;" and the natives of the surrounding villages declared that they had never heard any such name as "*Rohâ*"

On the contrary I found that the natives of the immediate neighbourhood always call this channel the "*Chakdahwa nâlâ*." Moreover, I could not obtain any information whatever about the "*Hirana*" of Buchanan and of General Cunningham's Padraona informant. There is also another channel which is not mentioned by General Cunningham, namely, the *Kusmi nâlâ*, which comes from the north to the east of *Bishanpur* and runs hence southwards into the *Kusmi Pokharâ*, from which last, again, a channel issues which joins the *Chakdâhwa* or *Râmabhâr* channel. According to the information which I obtained, and the investigations and observations which I made on the spot, the various channels, commencing from the westwards and proceeding eastwards, are named as follows :—

1. The *Khana nâlâ*.
2. "*Khadi*" or "*Khari*," to the south and south-east of the great mound of the Mâthâ Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot.
3. The "*Rakshahwa Chawar*," close to the north and north-east of the great mound of the Mâthâ Kuṇwar-kâ-Kot.
4. Another middle channel simply called a "*Chawar*."
5. The *Lambuhi Chawar*.
6. The *Lambuha Chawar*.
7. The *Kusmi nâlâ*, which runs into the Kusmi Pokharâ.
8. The *Chakdawa nâlâ*, to the east of the Kusmi Pokharâ, which runs straight southwards into the Lake of Râmabhar.

These eight channels are, of course, simply various old beds of the ancient *Ajitavati* or *Hiranyavati* river, upon the banks of which Kusinagara was situated. The *Râkshâhwa Chawar* is said to have been so called because a *Râkas* or *Râkshas*, or *demon*, formerly infested its banks.

A small channel said to be called the "*Ṣonarra nala*" runs out of the southern end of the *Ramabhâr lake*, and forms a confluence with the *Khanuâ nâlâ*, the *Chhota Gandak*, and the *Ghagi* river, about 7 miles to the south of Kasya. There is a *sthana* of *Devi* there, and a great fair is held at this confluence, or *sangaw*, every year. Now, it is possible that this name of "*Ṣonarra*" may be simply a

modern equivalent for the old name of *Hirana* or *Hiranya-vati*,—just as the name of the *Sona* river is an equivalent or synonyme for its ancient name, which was *Hiranyababu*, for both "*hiranya*" and "*sona*" mean "gold" in Sanskrit.

12.—COLOSSAL NIRVÂNA STATUE.

I have reserved the detailed measurements of the colossal recumbent statue of Buddha in his *Nirvâna*, and also of the three sculptures which are affixed to the west side of the Singhasan until now, in order not to interfere with the general course of the narrative portions of my Report. To the detailed measurements of the sculptures I may also now prefix the detailed measurements of the dimensions of the temple, as I found it.

Length of the main body or great chamber of the temple of the *Nirvâna*, outside the walls, at base 47 feet 8 inches. Breadth outside, north end 32 feet, south end 31 feet 6 inches. Width of inner doorway to west 5 feet. Thickness of wall at foot of doorway 9 feet 9 inches. Length of great temple chamber inside, measured along the floor, 30 feet 8 inches. Breadth of great temple chamber inside, 11 feet 9 inches to 11 feet 10 inches.

Length of front of ante-chamber outside at foot of wall, 35 feet 11 inches. Separate width of outer doorway to west 6 feet 6 inches. Breadth of ante-chamber outside, 14 feet 7 inches. Thickness of wall at foot of doorway, about 5 feet. Length of front ante-chamber inside, 26 feet 2 inches. Breadth of front ante-chamber inside, 10 feet 7 inches.

The colossal recumbent statue of Buddha in his *Nirvâna* lies on a grand *singhâsan*, or pedestal, in the inner great chamber of the temple.

Position.—Head of colossal statue, to north. Face turned to the west, right cheek leaning on the right hand. Left arm stretched straight along the left side, with left hand resting on left thigh. Feet placed one above the other. A *lotus*

flower between the heels. Circular wheel symbol on soles of feet. Body clothed in drapery.

Length of *singhâsan* 23 feet 9 inches. Breadth of *singhâsan* 5 feet 6 inches. Height of *singhâsan* varying from 1 foot 3 inches to 1 foot 6 inches, and 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches.

Length of statue 20 feet. Height of highest part of the statue at back, from back part of *singhâsan* to top of shoulder, 3 feet. Circumference of head of statue 6 feet 6 inches. Length of head 3 feet. From chin to top of top-knot 3 feet 6 inches. Length of hand 2 feet 2 inches. Length of foot 2 feet 9 inches.

Height of the block of stone of the central sculpture attached to the front of the *singhâsan*, 1 foot 7 inches. Breadth of stone 1 foot 4 inches. Height of sculpture, in a shallow *niche* in this stone, representing a squatting figure of *Swâmi Haribal*, with his back turned, 1 foot.

Height of stone of sculpture affixed to the north-western part of the front of the *singhâsan*, 1 foot $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Breadth of stone 1 foot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Height of sculpture, in a shallow *niche* in this stone, representing a crouching female figure with long hair (*Yasodhara*), $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Height of stone of sculpture affixed to the south-western part of the front of the *singhâsan*, 1 foot 6 inches. Breadth of stone 1 foot 3 inches. Height of sculpture, in a shallow *niche* in this stone, representing a male figure sitting, with head leaning on hand (*Bahula*), $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Height of ancient red *terra-cotta* figure of *Buddha* standing in the attitude of teaching, 2 feet 2 inches. (This figure was found at a great depth, leaning against the north-eastern corner of the basement of the plinth of the stûpa, at the very base or foundation of the building.)

Dimensions of bricks.—Bricks of present temple,—length $8\frac{1}{4}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$ and $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; breadth $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; thickness $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Some bricks of larger dimensions, from 9 to 11 and even 14 inches in length, were, however, found in the interior of the wall of the great chamber of the temple.

Bricks of the ruined remains of an ancient structure, portions of which still remain surrounding the temple on the northern, southern, and western sides,—length of bricks 8½ to 9 to 9¾ and 11 inches; breadth 6 to 6½ inches; thickness 1¾ to 2 and 2¼ inches.

Brick of the western front of the great plinth.—Bricks of the lower part of the basement,—length 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 2½ inches; breadth 9 inches; thickness 2¼ to 2½ inches. Bricks of upper part, or plinth proper—length 1 foot 2 inches; breadth 8½ to 9 inches; thickness 2¼ inches.

Bricks of north side of great plinth.—Bricks of upper plinth proper,—length 8½ to 9 and 10 inches; breadth 6½ inches; thickness 2 to 2¼ inches. Bricks of lower part of basement,—length 1 foot 2 inches; breadth 8½ to 9 inches; thickness 2¼ inches.

Bricks of upper surface of plinth, where it joins the base of the circular neck of the stûpa and lowest layer of the bricks of the base of the circular neck of the stûpa where it meets the plinth,—length of bricks 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 2½ inches; breadth 8½ to 9 inches; thickness 2¼ tô 2½ inches.

Bricks of lower part of circular neck of stûpa,—length 14 inches; breadth 8 to 8¾ inches; thickness 2¼ inches.

Bricks of middle part of outer face of circular neck of stûpa,—length 9 to 9¾ and 10 inches; breadth 6½ to 7 inches; thickness 2 to 2¼ inches.

Bricks of upper part of outer face of circular neck of stûpa,—length 7½ to 8 and 8½ inches; breadth 6¼ inches; thickness 1¾ to 2 inches.

13.—PÂWÂ; OR CHETIYAON AND FÂJILA.

After having completed all the excavations and other works at *Kusinagara* near *Kasya*, the next object which I had in view was to make investigations regarding the true site of an ancient town called *Pâwâ*, at or near which Buddha is said to have rested and drunk water and bathed, before pro-

ceeding on to *Kusinagara*, on his last journey, the course of which was from *Vaisâli*, or *Vesarh*, to *Kusinagara;* and afterwards, on the death of Buddha, *Maha Kasyapa*, his chief disciple, also halted at *Pâwâ*, on his way to Kusinagara.

At Pâwâ, also, there was a great stûpa in which one of the original "eight" portions of the relics of Buddha were enshrined.

I consequently visited numerous places in the course of my search after the site of *Pâwâ*. I first visited *Paraona* (or *Padraona)*, which has already been described by General Cunningham, and which he had at first proposed to identify with the ancient *Pâwâ*.

But being convinced that the site of *Pâwâ* could not possibly be situated anywhere so far out of the way to the north as *Paraona*, but that it must have been situated in a south-easterly direction from *Kusinagara* and on the old road from *Vaisâli* or *Vesarh* to *Kusinagara*, I therefore continued my explorations in a south-easterly direction from *Kasya*, and visited the following places :—*Sareya*, *Kukkurpati*, *Nandwa*, *Danaha Chetiyaon* and *Fâjila* or *Fâzilnagar Asmânpur*, *Dih*, *Banbera*, *Mir Bihâr*, *Patharwa*, *Jhârmatiya*, *Karmaini*, and *Gangi Tikar*, all of which are situated at various distances of from 8 to 13 miles to the east-south-east and south-east from *Kasya*, and beyond or to the east of the *Ghâgi* river. Of these 12 places only one will be described in this present Report, namely, *Fâzilnagar* or *Chetiyaon*, which I have identified with the ancient *Pâwâ*. Of the remaining 11 places, those only which are of any interest, and especially *Asmânpur Dih*, will be reserved for another or future Report.

In the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles, *Pâwâ* is said to have been situated at the distance of about 12 miles from *Kusinagara*, in the direction of the *Gandak* river,—that is, evidently somewhere to the east or south-east of *Kusinagara*, and on the old road or track which people travelled between *Vaisâli* and *Kusinagara*. The Ceylonese chronicles also mention that between *Pâwâ* and *Kusinagara* there was a stream of water or a small river, called the *Kukuttha*, at which Buddha stop-

ped to bathe and drink; but in the Burmese version the stream is called *Kakukhá*.[1] This is probably the present *Ghági* river, which runs at the distance of nearly 6 miles to the east-south-east from *Kasya*.

Now, some years ago, in his Archæological Report of 1861-62, and also afterwards in his Ancient Geography of India, General Cunningham proposed to identify *Páwá* with the well-known large village of *Padráona* or *Paráona*, which is situated at the distance of 12 miles to the north-north-east half north from *Kasya*, or 13 miles from the actual ruins of *Kusinagara*. But this 13 miles from the actual ruins of *Kusinagara* is only the direct distance, in a straight line, as measured on the map; while the actual travelling distance, even with the improved roads of the present day, is 7 *kos*, or 14 miles. Now, it will be generally allowed that the travelling distance in ancient times could not possibly have been less than the direct distance, in a straight line, as measured on the map at the present time. Consequently, if the travelling distance to *Páwá* in ancient times was only 12 miles, when there were no proper roads, but much *jangal* and water intervening, it is utterly impossible that the direct distance, when measured in a straight line on the map, could be 13 miles. This is, however, only one of the objections which I have to bring forward against the possibility of *Padráona* being identified with *Páwá*.

The second and much stronger objection which I have to make is the position of *Padráona*, as being far too far north, and totally out of the way of the route from *Vaisáli* to *Kusinagara*. The direction of the position of *Vaisáli* or *Besarh* from *Kusinagara* or *Kasya* is south-east; and therefore, if *Páwá* was met with on the road, in coming from *Vaisáli* to *Kusinagara*, *Páwá* would probably be somewhere to the south-east of *Kusinagara*—a probability which becomes still more evident, nay even absolutely certain, from the fact that both *Buddha* himself, and afterwards also his chief disciple, *Kasyapa*, passed through *Páwá* on their way from *Magadha* and *Vaisáli* to *Kusinagara*. It is evident, therefore,

1 See "Ancient Geography of India," p. 435.

that we must look somewhere to the south-east of *Kusinagara* for the position of *Pâwâ*.

Now, if the travelling distance, or the distance by a winding track, from *Pâwâ* to *Kusinagara*, in ancient times, was 12 miles, it is probable that the actual direct ,distance, if measured in a straight line, would be only about 10 miles; and I have already shown that the direction from *Kusinagara* must have been about south-east.

In accordance with these deductions I found that at the distance of about 10 miles to the south-east from the ruins of *Kusinagara*, there are the ruins of an ancient city at a place called *Chetiyaon* (the *Suthyaoon* of the maps), and that there is also the ruin of a large stûpa at a place called *Fâjila* or *Fâzilnagar*, only half a mile to the north-east of *Chetiyaon;* there being also the remains of other extensive ruins near the stûpa, which evidently originally formed simply one portion of the same ancient city of which *Chetiyaon* formed another portion; there being merely a narrow belt of marshy land between the two ancient sites. Close to, or about one-fifth of a mile from, the north-east of the ruined stûpa, there is the bed of an ancient river, which is now called the *Sonua*, or *Sonâwa* or *Sonârrâ nadi;* but at some part of its course further south it would seem to take the name of *Kûkû ;* for, at the distance of about 19 miles to the south of *Chetiyaon*, I find that there is a ghât or ferry called *Kûkû Ghati;* and along the bank of the same river we also find such names as *Karkutaha*, and *Khûrhûria*, and *Kuteya*. Now, according to the Ceylonese and Burmese Buddhist chronicles, the river near *Pâwâ*, at which Buddha stopped to bathe and drink, was called *Kukutthâ* or *Kakukhâ*. But in these chronicles this river is said to have flowed between *Pâwâ* and *Kusinagara*. Now, about 1½ mile to the west of *Chetiyaon*, there is another ancient river bed, which is called *Anhea* or *Anheyâ*, but sometimes also *Sonea* or *Sonâwa*. The name of this river bed called *Anhea* or *Anheyâ* may be connected with the Hindi *anhânâ*, "to bathe," and *anhân*, "bathing," which latter is synonymous with the Sanskrit *asnan*, and, therefore, the

Anheá or *Anheyá nálá* may be the very river at which *Buddha* bathed! About 2 miles to the west of the *Anheá nálá* there is another much larger river called the *Ghági nadi*. Indeed, the *Anheyá nálá* would seem to be simply an old bed of the *Ghági nadi*.

But all these three river beds,—the *Sonáwa* or *Sonárrá*, the *Anheyá*, and the *Ghági*,—are all simply branches of one river which rises some distance to the north; and therefore, in order to trace their origin, we must begin from their source. About 10 miles to the north-west of *Padráona*, and about 25 miles to the north-north-west of *Chetiyaon*, there is a large village called *Singhá*, and about a mile to the west of *Singhá* there is a long lake, or *jhíl*, of considerable size. From this lake a *nálá*, or water-course, takes its rise, which is the common source of the *Ghági*, the *Anheyá*, and the *Sonárrá* or *Sonáwa*, rivers. This *nálá*, or channel, runs to the east of the Bándi nadi and to the west of the *Jáhrehi* river; that is, it runs south-eastwards between the two. From the *Singhá* lake this stream, or *nálá*, runs in a south-easterly direction and passes half-way between *Padráona* and *Rámkola*. It then turns east-south-eastwards and passes close by the south-west corner of the *Padráona Tahsildari* or *Chháoni* and about 1¼ mile to the south-west of the old village of *Padráona*; and it then crosses the road which runs from *Padráona* to *Kasya*, at a village called *Balochaha*. From this point the *nálá* or river-bed runs in a south-south-easterly direction for about 4 miles, until it reaches a place called *Gangaráni*, where it passes through a small lake, which is turned into a rough sort of tank, or "kund," or reservoir, by an embankment. About 2 miles to the south of *Gangaráni* there is a place called *Maharáni*; and here the river divides or splits off into two branches,—one of which, which runs to the south-south-east, is called the *Sonárra* or *Sonáwa* nadi,—and the other branch, which runs to the south-south-west, is called the *Ghági* nadi. The *Sonawa*, or eastern branch, runs eventually past the great ruined *stûpa* at *Fájila*, about a quarter of a mile to the north-east of it. The *Ghági*, or western branch, runs southwards from *Maharáni*, for about

4 miles, to a place called *Sûnadia*, or *Sûnadya* (misspelt *Soondia*, in the maps). At *Sûnadya* the *Ghâgi* river again divides or splits off into two more branches, of which the lesser branch, which flows towards the south-south-east, is called the "*Anhea*" or "*Anheyâ*,"—and the other and greater branch, which flows at first towards the south-west, and then turns southwards, still retains the name of the *Ghâgi nadi*. The *Ghâgi* river is afterwards joined by the *Bândi nâlâ* from the west, just before it crosses the road which runs from *Kasya* to *Fâzilnagar*. But the *Anheyâ*, after a long winding detour, again rejoins the *Ghâgi* at a point about 11 miles to the south from *Sûnadyâ*, and about 5 miles to the south of the road which runs from *Kasya* to *Fâzilnagar*. And at this same point, exactly opposite to the re-junction of the *Anheyâ* and *Ghâgi* rivers, the *Ghâgi* is also here joined, on its west side, by two other water-courses; namely, first, by an ancient river bed or *nâlâ*, called the *Sonarra nâlâ*, which comes down from the north, and which comes out of the southern end of the *Râmabhâr jhil*, near the ruins of *Kusinagara*, and, secondly, by the *Khanuâ nâlâ*, which comes in from the north-west, and which had previously come down close past the west side of *Anirudhwâ*. Below or to the south of this treble junction, which is called a *triveni*, the single united river appears to take the name of the *Khanuâ*. At the distance of about 9 miles to the south-east of this point, the river is joined on its east side by the other eastern *Sonâwa* river, which, as I before stated, had passed down to the east of the ruined stûpa near *Fâjila* or *Fâzilnagar*, and which, as we before saw, originally broke off from the *Ghâgi* river at *Maharâni*, about 10 miles to the north of *Fâjila* and *Chetiyaon*. Below or to the south of this last junction, the united river appears to assume the name of the *Sonâwa* or *Sonua*, until it is joined on the east side, about 10 miles further to the south, by a small stream called the *Raota* nadi, after which the river appears to get the name of *Kûkû*, as at *Kûkû Ghâti*. And this last name (or some similar name) it appears to retain, until it is joined,

about 6 miles further south, by the *Chhotá Gandak* river, which comes in from the west, at a point a little to the north-east of a place called *Bhatni*.

Now, I have shown that the *Ghâgi* river, with its affluents, is the largest and most important river to the west of *Chetiyaon*, or between *Kasya* and *Chetiyaon*, and that the *Ghâgi* is only the latest, the most westerly, and the most considerable channel of an ancient river, the intermediate and older channel of which is the *Anheyâ nadi*, and the most ancient and most easterly channel of which is the *Sonâwa nadi*. It is, therefore, worth while to enquire what is the meaning of this name *Ghâgi*. From all the enquiries that I have been able to make, it would appear that *Ghâgi nadi* would mean "the fowl river!" *Ghâgas* in Hindi means "a large fowl," or a cock of a large kind; and *Ghâga* and *Ghâgi* would appear to be sometimes used to mean a cock and hen of the larger kind of gallinaceous fowls. Now *Kukkuta* in Sanskrit means "a cock;" and therefore *Ghâgi nadi* and *Kukkuta nadi* would be almost synonymous names. And I have already stated that, in the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles, the river which flowed between *Pâwâ* and *Kusinagara* is called the *Kukutthâ* river! There is also another curious fact which is worth noting, and that is, that close to the west bank of the *Ghâgi* river, a short distance to the north of the road, and just where the *Bandi nâlâ* joins the *Ghâgi nadi*, there is a village called *Kukkur-pati*, near a small tributary *nâlâ*, which is called the *Khanâ* or *Kahnâ nâlâ*. I therefore believe that the *Ghâgi nadi* is the same as the *Kukutthâ* river of the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles. But at the same time I also believe that the actual river at which *Buddha* bathed was the old bed of the *Ghâgi*, which is now called the *Anheyâ;* and I have already explained that the name *Anheyâ* is most probably derived from the Hindi *anhânâ*, "to bathe;" and that *anhân* ("bathing") is the same as the Sanskrit *asnân!*

I have already stated that the principal or most extensive mound of ruins, which I have identified as part of the ancient city of *Pâwâ*, is called *Chetiyaon dih*, on which there is also

a village called *Chetiyaon*.[1] Now, I believe this name, *Chetiyaon*, to be derived from the word *Chaitya*, meaning a *Buddhist* temple; and therefore *Chetiyaon* may be a corruption of *Chaitya-vana*, meaning "The *Chaitya Grove*." And it is remarkable that *Chetiyaon dih* is still covered with a dense forest.

With regard to the name of *Pâwâ*, I think it may be derived from the *Sanskrit Pawan*, meaning "purification"—and also "holy, pure, sacred." Close to the west of *Chetiyaon* there is a village called *Pâtkaoli*,[2] which might, perhaps, be connected with the name of *Pâwâ*. In the *Tibetan* Buddhist chronicles[3] *Pâwâ* is called *Dig-pachan*. Now, I find that the Tibetan word *pachan* means "town, or place, or residence, or habitation,"[4] and I have reason to believe that the Tibetan word *dig* means "purification, or pure, holy, hallowed;" and, therefore, the Tibetan *Dig-pachan* might correspond to a Sanskrit *Pâwân-pur*, or *Pâwân-nagara*, or *Pâwân-alaya*, literally "place of purification."

Of the present names, *Chetiyaon* or *Ṣeṭhiyaon*, and *Fâjila* or *Fâzilnagar*, which are the names of two neighbouring villages situated simply on two different parts of the site of what was originally one ancient city, the last (*Fâzilnagar*) is certainly modern. The common people pronounce the latter name as *Fâjila*, or rather *Phâjila*, which might just possibly be really a corruption of some original name of the place, which might perhaps, but very doubtfully, have been *Pâv-jhîleṅ*, for *Pâwân-jhîleṅ* meaning "the holy lakes, or the lakes of purification"—as there is a series of *jhîls* or marshy lakes near *Fâjila*; and the name might thus be connected with that of the ancient *Pâwâ*; and *Fâzil-nagar* may, perhaps, be a mere modern *Musalmân* alteration or adaptation of the name. With regard to the name of the place which I have

[1] The common people of the locality pronounce this name variously, as *Chetiyaon*, *Seṭhiyaon*, and *Tsetiyaon*.

[2] *Pâtkaoli* might, perhaps, be a corruption of *Pâvitakalaya*.

[3] The *Kahgyur*.—Csoma Körösi, Asiatic Researches.

[4] In Tibetan translations of Indian names of places, the Tibetan termination *pachan* corresponds to the Sanskrit terminations *pur*, *nagara*, and *alaya*, as, for instance, in *Yangs-pachan*, the Tibetan name for *Vaisâlipur*. See Csoma Körösi's "Analysis of the *Dulva*" and other Tibetan Buddhist books.

given as *Chetiyaon*, I may state that the name is pronounced in a somewhat thick lisping manner by the native people of the locality, and it is difficult to tell whether they say *Chetiyaon*, or *Ṣeṭhiyaon*, or *Tsetiyaon*,—that is, it is difficult to decide whether the word commences with a *Ch* or a palatal *Ṣ* or *Ts*. But the nearest approach to the apparent pronunciation of the name of the place by the people is *Chhethiyaon*. Now, the question is—what is the real derivation of the name of this place? We have an instance of a somewhat similar name in that of *Chetiyagiri*, near *Bhilsa*. I have already previously suggested that the name might be derived from *Chaitya-vana*, meaning the *Chaitya grove*, or the grove of the *Chetiyani*, or stûpas. But if it be supposed that the name (however pronounced) should be written as *Ṣeṭhiyaon*, then, as *Sethi* is the *Pali* form of the Sanskrit *Ṣreshṭhi* (the modern *Seṭh*), then *Ṣeṭhiyaon* might be a corruption of *Ṣeṭhi-gaon* for *Ṣreshṭhi-grama*, meaning "the *Ṣreshṭhi's* village." But again, if after all the name be *Chheṭhiyaon*, as the people appear to pronounce it, then it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory derivation for the word. Otherwise, the first syllable of the word might be connected with the Sanskrit *Chet*, "remembrance," or *Cheṭ*, "a servant." There is, however, another place with a somewhat similar name, written in the maps as *Sutyaoon*, much further to the south, about 4¼ miles to the north-east of *Khukhundo*.

I must now give a detailed description, with measurements, of the ruins on what I consider to be the site of the ancient *Pâwâ*, at *Chetiyaon* and *Fâjila*.

Ruins at Chetiyaon, or Chheṭhiyaon.

The remains at *Chetiyaon* consist mostly of a large *dih*, or a great mound of ruins, the north-eastern corner of which is situated at the distance of about 2,300 feet, or less than half a mile, to the west-south-west 6½° south-west from the Thâna of *Fâjila* or *Fâzilnagar*. The greatest length of this large mound of ruins is from north to south; the measurement from the northern end of the *dih* to a south-south-westerly projecting point at the southern

end of the *dih* being about 1,850 feet, or nearly 1,900 feet. The breadth of the *dih* from east to west varies greatly from nearly 500 feet to 600 feet and 900 feet, the greatest breadth being towards the southern end, the southern third part of the mound being the broadest. A small straggling village called *Chetiyaon* or *Chheṭhiyaon*, is situated along part of the western and south-western edge of the *dih*.

There is a large pond of water, about from 1,100 to 1,200 feet in length by 550 feet in breadth, close to the western side of *Chetiyaon Dih*. On the north-western side of the pond there is a broad, low, gradually sloping mound or elevated ground higher than the surrounding fields, having an extent of 850 feet by 600 feet.

At the distance of about 650 feet to the south-west of the Great *Dih* of *Chetiyaon*, and in the middle of the fields, there is a gradually sloping somewhat circular-shaped mound, about 270 feet in diameter. At the distance of 230 feet to the south of the Great Dih there is a large tank, and close to the south of the tank, and at the distance of 500 feet to the south of the Great *Dih*, there is a *tolá*, or small village, situated on a mound of ruins, and to the west of the *tolá* there is another tank. Again, at the distance of about 500 feet to the east of an eastern projection of the Great *Dih* there is another *tolá*, or small village, situated on a mound, and at the south-western corner of this village there is a small tank. Three hundred feet to the north of the last named *tolá* there is a very large ancient tank, which is situated at the distance of about 550 feet to the east of the Great *Dih* of *Chetiyaon*. Between this tank and the Great *Dih* there are the remains of an ancient raised brick causeway. At the distance of about 500 feet to the north-east of the last-named tank there is another large tank; and about 250 feet to the east-south-east from the latter there is a large double tank.

From the northern end of the Great *Dih* of *Chetiyaon* a road runs northwards, for about 1,700 feet, until it joins the Government high road, which runs from *Kasya* to *Fázilnagar thána*. At the distance of 230 feet to the north of the

northern end of the Great *Dih* of *Chetiyaon* there is a small somewhat elevated mound. At this point there is a cross road which runs westwards to *Patkaoli* and eastwards to the *thâna* of *Fâjila*. At the distance of about 370 feet to the north of this point there is a very large tank.

The whole of the *great mound* called *Chetiyaon Dih* is the site of an ancient town, but it has gradually become considerably diminished in extent, by its eastern, north-eastern, and south-western sides having been cut into by fields year after year. The whole *dih* is covered by a grove of trees. The southern two-thirds or three-fourths of the *dih* contain a mass of brick ruins. The southern half of the *dih* is the highest, and is composed entirely of a solid mass of brick ruins, covered by a dense grove or forest of trees. Here the summit of the great mound or *dih* is covered by an assemblage of smaller projecting mounds of brick ruins, rising up hither and thither in numerous crests or summits, like the poppling waves of a sea. Some of these brick mounds are of a rounded conical shape, and may be the remains of stûpas or chaityas. Two of the mounds have an elongated oval or elliptical shape, and one has a squarish shape. On the eastern part of the northern half of the *dih* there are two small conical-shaped mounds of brick, a larger and a smaller one, close together; and the larger one is used as a *Thân* or *Sthâna* of *Devi*, and on the top of it I found a sculpture of *Devi* leaning against a tree. On the very edge of the southern end of the *dih* there is a small conical mound of brick ruins, which may be the remains of a stûpa. The bricks composing the ancient ruins are of a large size, some being about 11 inches in length, and others 1 foot 2 inches in length; but still larger bricks, 1 foot 3 inches in length, have been dug up from some depth underneath.

14.—RUINS AT FAJILA OR FAZILNAGAR.

As I have previously stated, the *Thâna* of *Fâjila* or *Fâzil-nagar* is situated on the northern side of the high road, at the distance of only 2,300 feet, or less than half a mile, to the

east-north-east, 6½° north-east from the north-eastern corner of the great mound or *dih* of *Chetiyaon*. Close to the east side of the *Thâna* there is a post office, and both of these buildings are situated on a mound of moderate elevation containing traces of brick ruins. Close to the east side of the post office, the *dih* or great mound of *Fâjila* commences. The *dih* then runs along the northern edge of the high road for a distance of 1,150 feet from west to east. The western side of the mound measured 950 feet in length, the northern side 700 feet, and the eastern side 600 feet. This great mound or *dih* is covered with a grove of trees. The channel of the *Sonua* or *Sonâwa nadi* passes at the distance of about one-fifth of a mile to the north-east of the Great *Dih* of *Fâjila*. A rough cart-road runs across the *dih*, near the centre, northwards, to the village of *Fâjila* or *Fâzilnagar*, which is situated on a narrow northern continuation of the Great *Dih*, still containing broken bricks or traces of ruins, and at the distance of 800 feet to the north of the Government high road.

On the very top of the great mound or *dih* of *Fâjila*, and at the distance of 350 feet to the north of the high road, there are the ruins of a large stûpa, which stands upon a great oblong-shaped quadrangular platform or plinth of masonry, which measured 270 feet from east to west by 157 feet from north to south. The circumference of the ruined stûpa at its base, above the platform, was about 400 feet, giving a diameter of about 127 feet. The present perpendicular height of the ruined stûpa appeared to be about 35 feet above the platform or plinth; but if the stûpa was originally hemispherical, its original height must have been about 63½ feet. In its present condition the ruined stûpa has a flat top, which measured from 40 to 44 feet across in horizontal diameter. I also measured the slanting height of the stûpa, from the outer edge of its flat top down the slope of its ruined sides, to its base, and I found the average slanting height to be about from 52 to 54 feet. There was a very large wide-spreading tree growing on the top of this ruined stûpa.

I think we may now, with considerable certainty, identify this ruined stûpa with the famous stûpa of *Pâwa*, which contained one of the eight portions of the relics of *Buddhâ*.

I have already stated that this large ruined stûpa stands upon a great oblong-shaped quadrilateral platform of masonry, or plinth. This platform extends out 10 feet beyond the base of the stûpa on the north side, 50 feet on the west side, 20 feet on the south side, and 95 feet on the east side. On the top of the long eastern extension of the great platform, and about 40 feet to the north-east of the stûpa, there is a mound, the circumference of which measured about 170 feet, and which contains the ruins of an oblong-shaped building, the outline of remains of the walls of which crop out at the top of the mound. This building appeared to have been about 30 feet in length from east to west by 21 feet in breadth. This may probably have been a temple; and, if so, then we have here another instance of a temple standing on the same plinth as the stûpa, as at *Kusinagara*. On the very summit of this ruin there is a tomb, either real or pretended, of some Musalmân saint. Between this ruin and the stûpa there is a tower-shaped building, in which the Muhammadans make their Karbala.

This stûpa is situated at the distance of about 3,300 feet east-north-east from *Chetiyaon Dih;* but the south-western corner of *Fâjila dih* (on which the stûpa is situated) is only about 2,600 feet distant from the north-eastern corner of *Chetiyaon Dih*.

At the distance of about 300 feet to the north from the stûpa, the village of *Fâjila* or *Fâzilnagar* commences. This is a narrow straggling village, which is situated on a narrow northern extension of the Great *Dih*, and old broken bricks, or traces of ruins, still continue to crop out here and there in the ground on which the village is situated. The village of Fâjila extends for a distance of about 800 feet from south to north, but from the north it takes a turn round to the west for some distance further. To the north of the village of *Fâjila* the high ground takes a turn round to the westwards, and extends thence for a distance of about 1,700 feet

in a westerly direction. There are a few hollows and depressions here and there, but most of this extent is conspicuous high ground; and here and there, in spots along the high ground, some fragments of broken brick, or a few traces of ruins, may be seen. My belief is that this high ground formed part of the site of the ancient city. To the south of this high ground there is low marshy land; and low marshy land also lies between *Fâzilnagar thana* and *Chetiyaon Dih*, thus naturally dividing the site of the ancient city into two parts!

On this long high ground or ridge, just described, which runs westwards from the village of *Fazilnagar*, there are two villages, one of which is a *tappa* or *tola* of *Fazilnagar*, and the other is a village the name of which I forget, although I have got it marked down in my sketch-map.

At the distance of about 450 feet to the north-west from the village of *Fajila* or *Fazilnagar*, there is a small *tappa* or *tola* belonging to it, which is situated on a mound of little height, but which is higher than, or elevated above, the rest of the surface of the high ground. This mound might possibly contain ruins. At least a few broken bricks were visible. This site measured about 170 feet from east to west by 130 feet from north to south. Within the distance of 350 feet to the west of the *tappa*, there is a sort of hollow or depression, or narrow valley, containing a tank with a *nala* running out of it, the *nala* being 90 feet broad. Sixty feet to the west of the *nala* there is a village, which is about 400 feet in extent from east to west, and which is situated on an elevation higher than the rest of the ridge or high ground. This village may very probably have been built upon an ancient site containing ruins. Close to this village there was a ruined brick platform, which looked very much like as if it had been the pedestal of a pillar. The ridge or high ground comes to an end about 300 feet to the west of this village.

15.—OTHER ANCIENT SITES.

Of the other remaining eleven places which, as before stated, I visited in this direction, the only ones worthy of any

notice are—1 *Sareya*, 2 *Kukkurpati*, 3 *Nandwa*, 4 *Danaha*, 5 *Asmanpur Dih*, 6 *Mir Bihâr*, 7 *Jhârmatiya*, and 8 *Gangi Dih*. These places are situated at various distances from, and in a circle round, *Chetiyaon* as a centre.

1.—*Sareya* is a mound of ruins, on the west bank of a small lake called the *Sareya Tâl*, which latter is a branch or extension of the *Anheyâ nâlâ*, and at the distance of about 3 miles to the west-north-west-half-west from *Chetiyaon Dih*.

2.—*Kukkurpati* is the name of a small village situated at the distance of about 3½ miles to the north-west from Chetiyaon, and near the junction of the *Ghâgi* and *Bândi* rivers, to the north of the high road. This place is only remarkable from its name, *Kukkurpati*, which might possibly be connected with that of the *Kukutthâ* river of the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles.

3.—*Nandwa* is a mound of ruins situated about 3 miles to the west-south-west from Chetiyaon.

4.—*Danaha* is a mound of ruins situated about 3½ miles to the south-west from Chetiyaon.

5.—*Asmânpur Dih* is a very large mound of brick ruins, situated at the distance of 3½ miles due south from Chetiyaon. *Asmânpur* is really not the proper name of the mound of ruins, but it is simply the name of a small village which is situated on a part of the dih. I hope to be able to give a full description of this great mound of ruins in another and future Report.

6.—*Mir Bihâr* is the name of a village situated to the east of the *Sonawa nadi*, at the distance of about 4 miles to the south-east from Chetiyaon. At this village there is a smallish rounded conical-shaped mound of brick ruins. The proper name of this place is *Bihâr* or *Vihâr*, which I believe must have been derived from some former Buddhist *vihâra*. But as there are two places called *Bihâr* within 1¼ mile of one another, one is called *Mir Bihâr*, and the other is called *Bihâr Buzûrg*.

7.—*Jhârmatiya* is the name of a large flat-topped mound of ruins situated at the distance of about 3⅝ miles to the north-east from Chetiyaon. This place is said to have

been founded by Râja *Job Nâth.* I hope to be able to give a more full account of this site in another and future Report.

Gangi Tikar is the name of a village situated about 3¼ miles due north from Chetiyaon. Close to the south of this village there is a large mound of ruins, covered with Bar trees, which is called *Gangi Dih.*

A. C. CARLLEYLE,

Archæological Survey of India.

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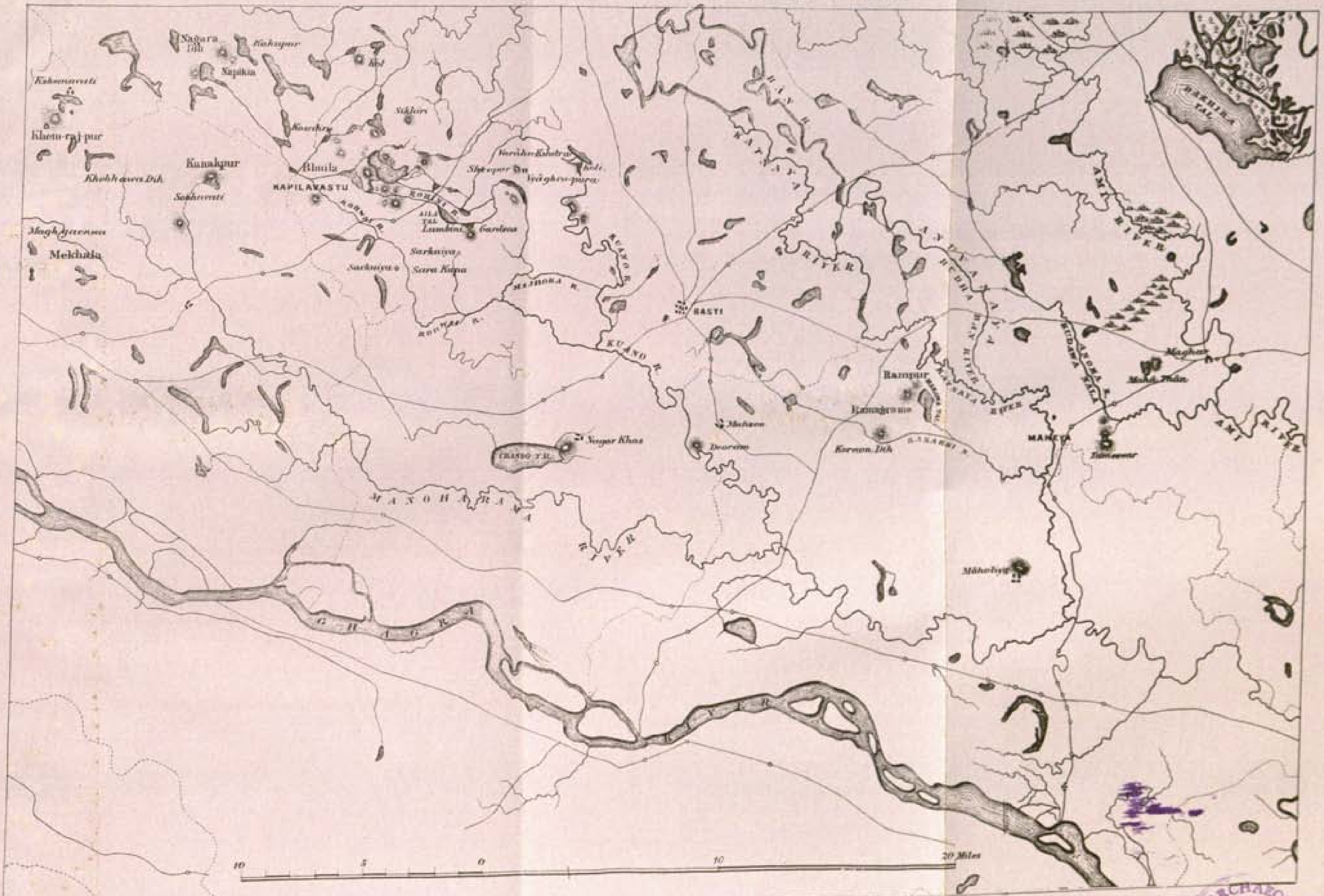

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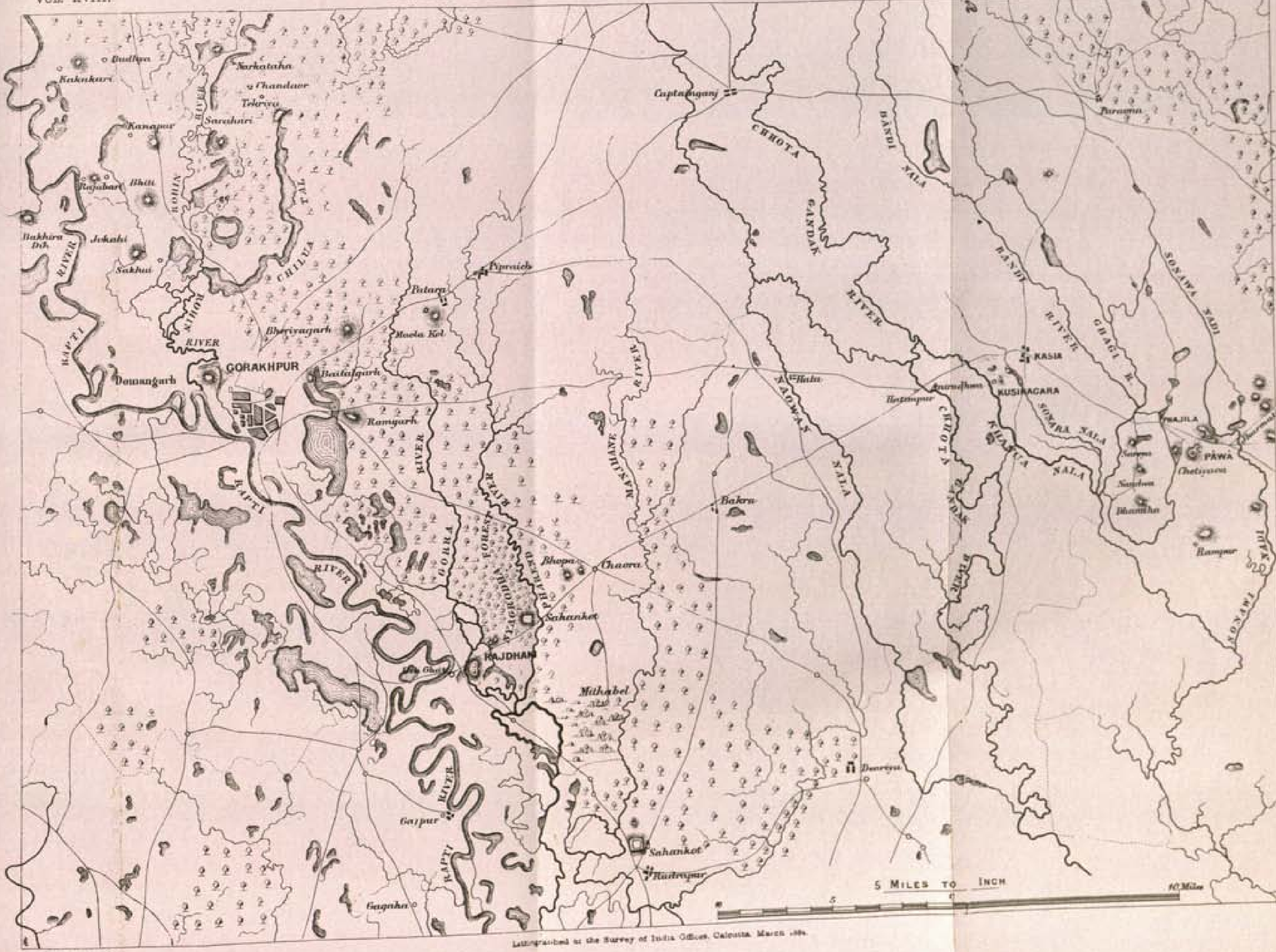

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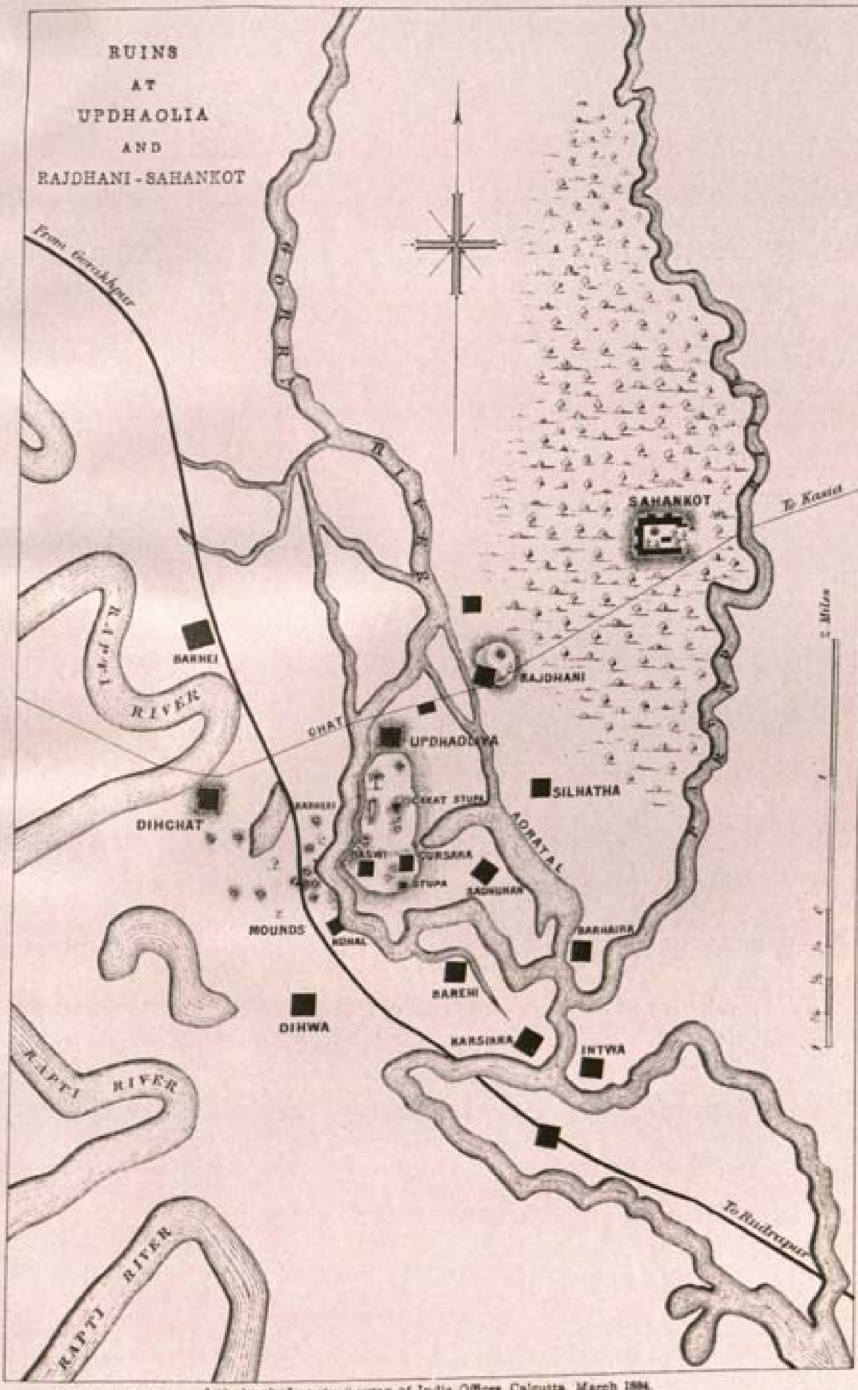

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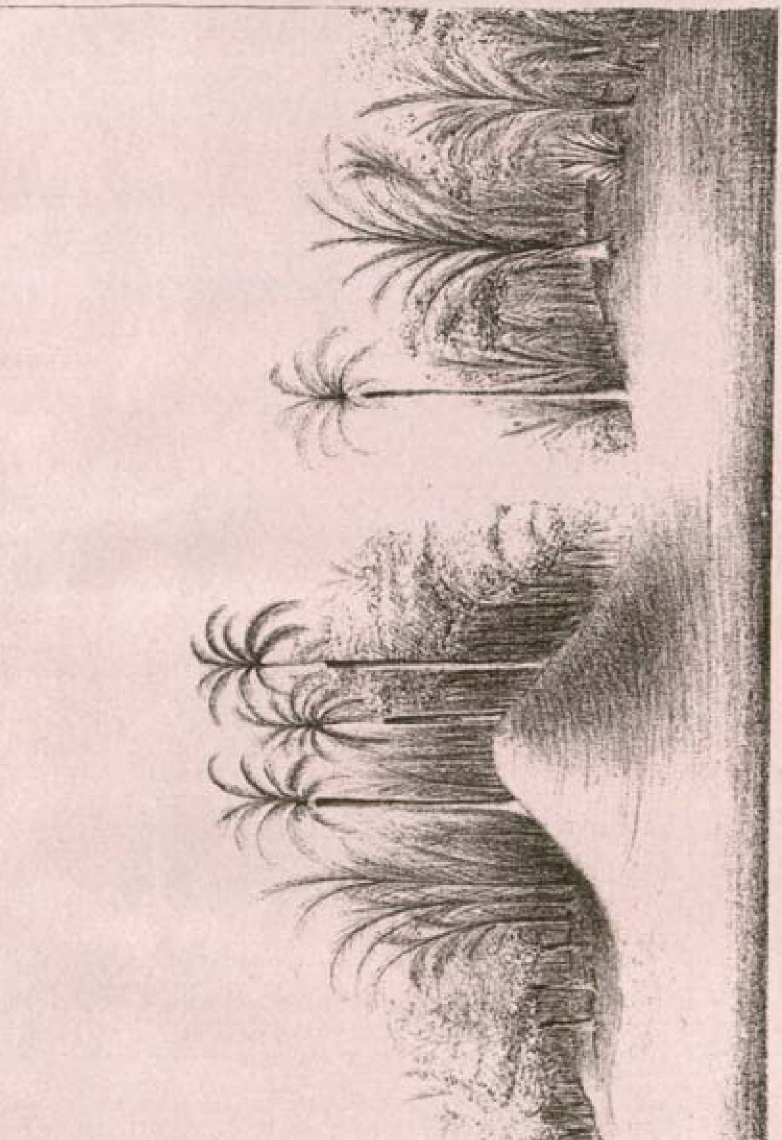

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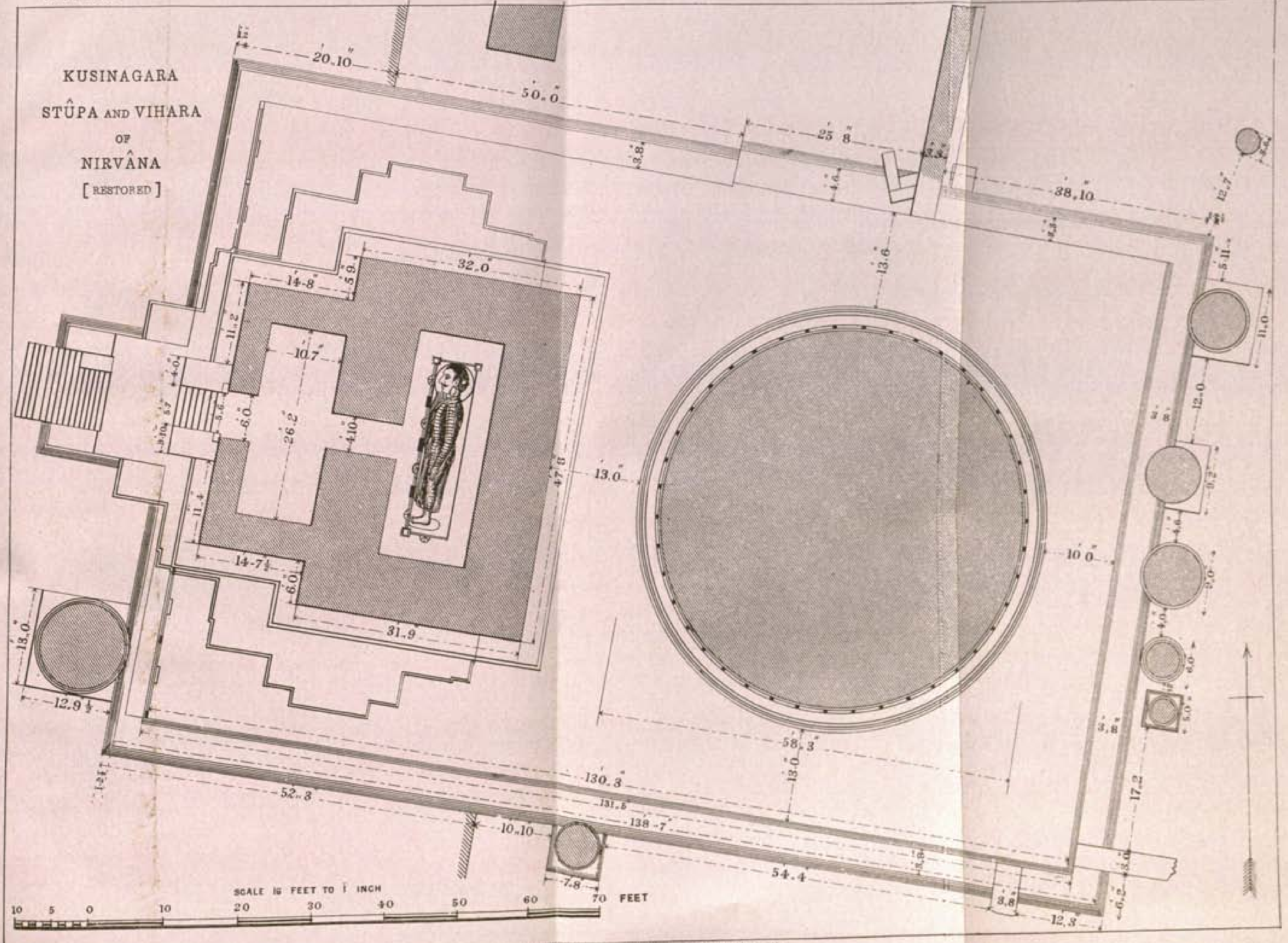

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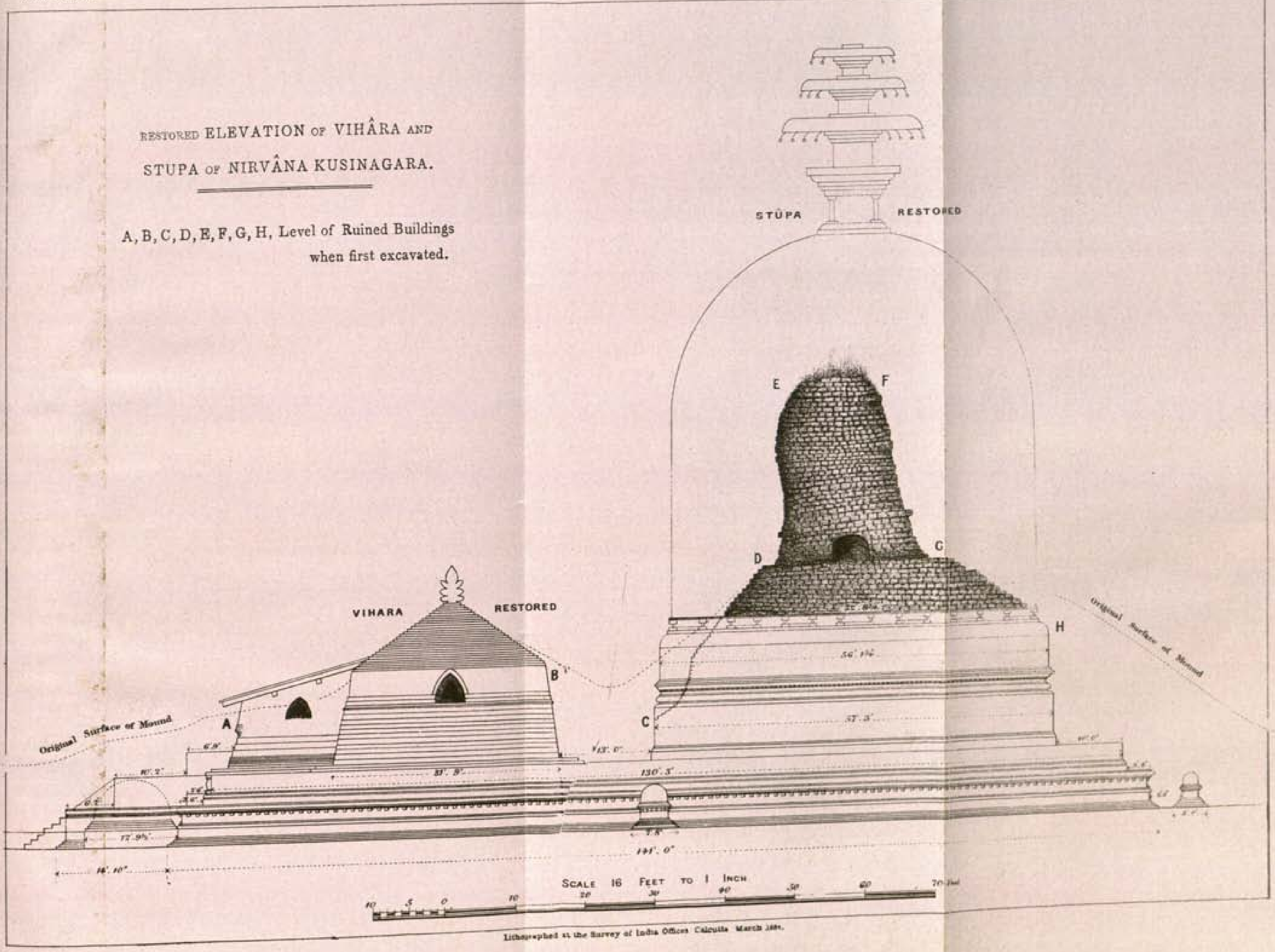

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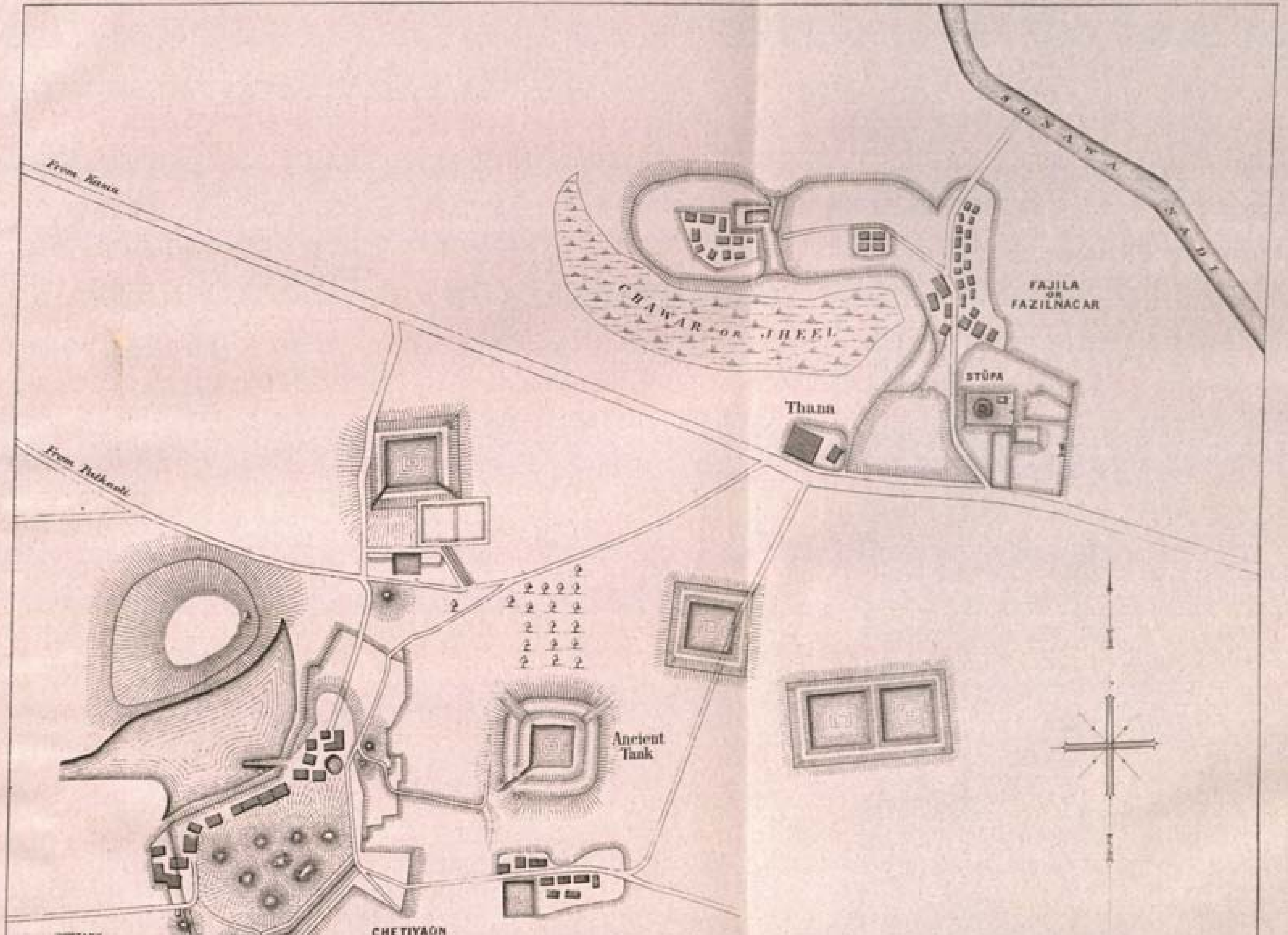
SITE OF THE ANCIENT PAWA.



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